

R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 002 833

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VOTERS AND THEIR SCHOOLS, AND COMMUNITIES AND THEIR SCHOOLS.

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STANFORD UNIV., CALIF., INST.FOR COMMUNIC. RES.

REPORT NUMBER CRP-308

PUB DATE 1 DEC 60

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.90 HC-\$23.12 578P.

DESCRIPTORS- *EDUCATIONAL NEEDS, *COMMUNITY COORDINATION, PUBLIC EDUCATION, PUBLIC SUPPORT, *FINANCIAL SUPPORT, *PUBLIC OPINION, INFORMATION DISSEMINATION, *NATIONAL SURVEYS, COMMUNITY ATTITUDES, EDUCATIONAL FINANCE, COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY, SOCIOECONOMIC INFLUENCES, COMMUNITY SKILLS, QUESTIONNAIRES, INTERVIEWS, EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS, *SCHOOL COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP, STANFORD, CALIFORNIA

A STUDY SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT VOTERS WOULD GIVE FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS IF THEY WERE FULLY INFORMED OF NEEDS, AND WHETHER CURRENT COMMUNICATION TECHNIQUES WERE ADEQUATE IN EFFECTIVELY INFORMING THE PUBLIC OF SCHOOL NEEDS. SPECIFIC VOTER AND COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS WERE EXPLORED AS THEY RELATE TO EDUCATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. SUCH FACTORS AS SOCIOECONOMIC PROBLEMS, ATTITUDINAL AND BEHAVIORAL CHARACTERISTICS, COMMUNICATION TECHNIQUES, AND METHODS TO INCREASE LAY PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES WERE INCLUDED. RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED OVER A 3-YEAR PERIOD. THE FOLLOWING SURVEYS WERE MADE--(1) NEARLY 5,000 INTERVIEWS WITH REGISTERED VOTERS IN FIVE CITIES, (2) AN INTERVIEWING OF THE COMPLETE SCHOOL STAFF OF ONE SCHOOL DISTRICT (769 PERSONS), (3) PERSONAL INTERVIEWS WITH SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY LEADERS IN 82 SCHOOL DISTRICTS ACROSS THE COUNTRY, AND (4) A MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO APPROXIMATELY 1,000 SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN THE UNITED STATES. SURVEY RESULTS INDICATED A SITUATION IN WHICH THE PUBLIC VIEWS SCHOOLS AS THE PRODUCERS OF A PRODUCT--THE TRAINED CHILD. IT WAS FOUND THAT SCHOOLS MUST FALL SHORT OF COMPLETE SATISFACTION, SOCIETY BEING AS COMPETITIVE AS IT IS AND PARENTS HAVING THE ASPIRATIONS THEY DO. CONCLUSIONS SHOW THAT PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS AND LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERS SHOULD STRIVE FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING. WAYS TO ACHIEVE THEIR MUTUAL GOALS ARE SUMMARIZED. (JH)

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VOTERS AND THEIR SCHOOLS



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VOTERS AND THEIR SCHOOLS

By

Richard F. Carter

**A Technical Report from the
Institute for Communication Research
Stanford University
Stanford, California**

June 30, 1960

**Cooperative Research Project No. 308
William R. Odell, Director**

**The research reported herein was performed pursuant
to a contract with the United States Office of Education,
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.**

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PREFACE

Many factors prompted us to undertake this study of the voter and his schools -- not the least of which was the support afforded us by the U.S. Office of Education. But given this support, we were excited by the prospect of studying communicatory behavior in such a significant relationship as that between communities and their schools. We were encouraged by the reception we had from voters and school officials while discussing the study with them. Consequently, we are gratified to be able to conclude that this is an analysis of a mutual problem and not a study of conflict. To be sure, there is occasional conflict, but it is unwanted.

In this study we have not been able to divorce our values from the research completely. We have refrained carefully from political prescriptions or proposals suggested by the results of our analysis. But in the first place, the selection of education as an institution to study is an expression of value. Our several conclusions show values for democratic procedures in school-community relations. Indeed, the whole of social research endeavor -- not just including this study -- argues that society can improve itself, given better knowledge of its structures and processes, and is in that sense value oriented. We're proud to acknowledge those values, however, and the voters and school officials to whom we talked share these values.

The voters themselves contributed greatly to this study by their interested cooperation. Many know little of their schools. Some are despairing and frustrated.

They are, nevertheless, the source of real and potential vitality in school-community relations. School officials too deserve our thanks for their help. Everywhere we were received enthusiastically in recognition of the problem's saliency.

Individually, many helped. We gratefully recall....

Our advisory committee: Finis Engleman, Executive Secretary, American Association of School Administrators; Carroll Hansen, Director, U.S. Office of Education Publication Services; Roy K. Wilson, Director, National Education Association Press and Radio; Hollis A. Moore, Jr., former Executive Secretary, Committee for the Advancement of School Administration; Robert McKay, former President, National School Public Relations Association.

Roy M. Hall, Assistant Commissioner of Education for Research, and his colleagues in the U.S. Office of Education: Walter B. Adamson, Executive Assistant, Division of Research; David L. Clark, Director, Cooperative Research Branch; and Alice Y. Scates, Research Coordinator.

Our colleagues in the School of Education at Stanford: William R. Odell, Paul R. Hanna, James D. MacConnell, H. Thomas James, Walter M. Garcia, William H. Strand, Arthur R. Partridge, and John Sutthoff.

Our colleagues in the Department of Communication and Journalism and the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford: Chilton R. Bush, Wilbur Schramm, Nathan Maccoby, James E. Brinton, and J. Stacy Adams. Particular thanks go to Dr. Bush for his many suggestions and to Dr. Schramm for his direction and critical readings.

Many students in education and journalism worked on this project. Several deserve special mention for their assistance: George Dunn, Lou Galanis, John L. Hampton, Jr., John L. Hayman, Jr., Jonathan P. Lane, Jack Lyle, Edwin B. Parker, Galen R. Rarick, and David L. Sanders.

We have benefitted greatly from capable secretarial help during these three years: Mary Arnovick, Fern Campbell, Catherine Hatch, Linda Miller, Mary K. O'Brien, Betty Lou Rarick, and Joan Reynertson.

Richard F. Carter
Study Director

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

On August 1, 1957, the School of Education and the Institute for Communication Research of Stanford University began a study of "Community Understanding as a Factor in the Financial Support of Public Education." The Cooperative Research Program of the U.S. Office of Education contracted with Stanford for a three year investigation, to focus on the role of communication in achieving a state of understanding between schools and community.

The study has taken two paths. The School of Education conducted personal interviews with community leaders in 82 school districts throughout the then 48 states, and later, by mail, surveyed a sample of 1054 school districts in the United States. Their task was to discover those factors which influence school-community relations, and, by implication, support of public education. The Institute for Communication Research interviewed 900 registered voters before and after a bond election, 2524 registered voters in three urban areas (the Southeast, the Midwest, and the Pacific Coast were represented), 769 staff members in the Midwest school district, and 732 husbands and wives who were both registered voters in still another school district. All except the staff members were personally interviewed. The task the Institute undertook was to discover those factors which affected voter involvement in school affairs -- their attitudes and their activities, including their communicatory behavior.

This is the report of our work at the Institute. A companion report is being prepared by the School of Education. Within the next year, we plan to consolidate these two reports into a summary version for a larger audience.

The work in the School of Education and in the Institute has followed a common conceptualization of the problem. The report by the School of Education outlines this conceptualization in detail. Basically, it postulates a large number of factors influencing school-community relations. Our work in the Institute has further postulated that from the point of view of the voter relatively few factors enter into the determination of his position. Two predominate: the value of education and his ability to pay the bill. But the resolution of these factors is not simple; many other factors play a part, and we have drawn on theory and research from the social sciences to guide us to these factors.

Within a few weeks after we had started our planning, American education faced a seeming crisis: Russia's Sputnik. Critics fell on the schools, questioning whether an education valued for its ability to give citizens a knowledge of and an occupation in our society could continue to serve the country's needs without drastic change and re-emphasis. Those critics still hold forth, and we have found their listeners among the voters we interviewed. But has anything changed? Could the needs of a nation be installed as the wants of its people? Are there new values for education? To these questions we would have to answer: No. The concern expressed about the schools -- and particularly about curriculum -- appears to have been absorbed into previously determined value positions. The arguments have changed but the values have not. The parent is still more concerned that the child compete successfully

than that the nation do so. He thinks national interests no less important, but he is in a much better position to evaluate his child's success, and, by inference, to judge the school's performance.

Historically, education has had tremendous value for us. It has provided many a way up the economic -- and social -- ladder. We find that value still evident. Now, however, it is for some a value that is held because they are expected to hold it. There is a norm that we respect education, that it is an important part of our democratic society, that it is a vital agency in the growth of our society. This normative view of education as a valuable institution, fully endorsed by the voters we interviewed, is missing in specific opinions and behaviors. But when voters' behaviors belie a value for education, we have found them acclaiming the value still.

We found out quickly that the most accurate picture of voter values for education lay in their participation -- or, more correctly, their lack of participation. Not that we expected every voter to attend school functions or that we were surprised to find few voters involved in determining school policy, but half those we talked with were without values sufficient to impel their attention to school matters. What should be an ascending spiral of participation inspired by values, of values refurbished by the satisfactions of participation, is instead a stagnant circle of unimplemented values, of frustrated participation. It is not our intention to point the finger of blame at either schools or voters. Nevertheless, it is evident from a reading of our results that the impetus toward a better understanding between schools and voters must reside with the voters. Ultimately it is a question of individual commitment. The schools

can help -- we hope these findings will show them several possibilities -- but the final responsibility is the voter's.

Our research seeks the answer to two related, but distinct, questions:

1. What voters, under what conditions, have favorable attitudes toward the schools?

2. What voters, under what conditions, participate in school affairs?

Very often, we have studied the converses of these questions: What voters have unfavorable attitudes and no participation? In this introduction, we can only summarize and report general conclusions; the documentation of these remarks is to be found in the succeeding chapters.

* * * * *

Summary of Results

I. What does the voter think of his schools?

Q. What is the voter's opinion of the schools?

He thinks they are good in general, but he criticizes them in particular areas: frills, too much play, curriculum, and discipline.

Q. What does the voter consider the most important tasks of the schools?

To teach the fundamentals -- arithmetic and mathematics, the language arts of reading, writing, spelling, and speaking -- and to instill loyalty to the United States.

Q. What does the voter consider the least important tasks of the schools?

To teach about the local region, to afford enjoyment of cultural activities -- art and music, and to provide industrial arts.

Q. Where does he think the schools are doing well?

Teaching the fundamentals, the language arts, and instilling loyalty -- those areas which are most important.

Q. Where does he think the schools are doing poorly?

Teaching about budgeting and the use of money and property, giving pupils a knowledge of occupational opportunities, providing psychological guidance and vocational education for industry.

Q. How does he sum up their performance?

Schools do relatively well on what is most important. On tasks and services connected to the pupil's ability to stand on his own, economically and emotionally, performance is not nearly so much in line with the perceived importance. In several areas -- enjoyment of cultural activities, physical education, and recreation -- the voter is skeptical of the need for the level of performance already achieved.

Q. What does the school staff member think of school performance?

More emphasis should be given to the pupil's emotional stability and intellectual capability. The staff member agrees with the voter in many respects, including a lack of concern about physical education and recreation. He differs from the voter, however, in giving more emphasis to cultural activities, world affairs, and foreign languages.

Q. What attitudes are associated with voting on school financial issues?

The voter's evaluation of the local schools, his evaluation of school costs, and his pride in the schools are most closely associated with likelihood of

voting, and of voting favorably.

Q. What is the effect on voter attitudes of a school campaign?

His evaluation of the community and his perception of immediate rewards from education are markedly influenced by school campaigns, but the effect is transitory.

Q. What happens to the voter's attitudes if he doesn't vote?

His values for education generally are such that he may say that he really thinks a lot of the schools. He may also say that he doesn't think much of the community he lives in.

Q. What does the voter hear, good and bad, about the schools?

The good comments about schools are most often general, secondarily about the students and the teachers. The bad comments are about student behavior, school administration, and buildings and facilities.

Q. What does the voter read that is critical of schools?

In national magazines, the voter most often reads criticisms of curriculum, segregation, and students.

Q. What does the voter have pride in?

Buildings and facilities, teachers, and the schools in general.

Q. Who is the most favorable voter?

The young voter, with a child of school age, who is a recent resident of the community and whose occupation is that of skilled worker or clerical and sales.

Q. Who is the most unfavorable voter?

The young voter, without children, who is a long-time resident of the

community (and undoubtedly went to school there) and whose occupation is that of professional or technician.

H. How does the voter participate in school affairs?

Q. How many voters participate?

About half show no evidence of any participation in school affairs and no interest in such participation.

Q. What kinds of participation are there?

About a third of the voters participate actively. Some 11% appear interested but do not engage directly in school activities. The last 6% are active in school matters but do not seem to be interested.

Q. What is the extent of knowledge about schools?

Only slight. The more the voter participates, the more knowledge he has of school performances.

Q. In what role does the voter see himself when he does participate?

He usually sees himself in the role of parent. If he doesn't participate, he sees school personnel as the active participants. He rarely sees himself participating in the role of taxpayer.

Q. Who doesn't participate at all?

The very inactive voter is older and of low education. He has no children or they are not in school. His non-school activities include church and nationality groups or sports and hobbies.

Q. Who is the most active voter?

The active voter is younger, of high education, and has a child in public

school. He is very active in many non-school activities and often has a professional or technical occupation.

Q. Who is interested but not active?

The inactive but interested voter is most often a young woman of low education, with children in school, and membership in church and nationality groups. She appears to find school activities socially and intellectually embarrassing.

Q. Who is active but not interested?

The active but uninterested voter is younger, of high education, and more often a male. His children are not of school age. He frequently belongs to veteran, military, and patriotic groups, to professional, labor, and business groups, and engages in sports or hobbies.

III. Who are the critics of the schools?

Q. What kinds of criticisms are there?

There are many groups of critics, but the criticisms themselves fall into two classes: criticisms of the schools' worth given the perceived economic conditions and criticisms of the schools' performances given the perceived task importance.

Q. Who thinks neither schools nor economic conditions good?

This voter is older, without children or without children in school, and a long-time resident of the community. He is also very likely to be apathetic.

Q. Who thinks the schools bad but the economic conditions good?

This voter is younger, of high education, and has children either out of

school or in private school. He hears more bad things about the schools and he reads more national criticisms of schools. He is an active participant in school activities.

Q. Who is concerned about traditions?

The voter who is concerned about school performance in the maintenance of traditional standards of morality and loyalty is most likely to be an older man of high education.

Q. Who is concerned about the fundamentals?

Both the older man of high education and the younger man of high education are concerned about the fundamentals of education, the 3 R's. The younger man, however, emphasizes science and study while the older man emphasizes behavior and basic skills.

Q. Who is concerned about the pupil's future progress?

The young woman of high education is concerned about emotional stability, about the pupil getting into college or an occupation, and about orientation to the world. The young man of low education is concerned about practical problems of home and industry; he also gives more priority to driver education and recreation.

Q. Who is the least critical of school performances?

The young woman of low education.

Q. What effect does the child's status in school have on criticisms?

The least critical voter is the parent of a child in public school. The most critical voter is without children or has children in private school. The voter

without children is more critical of the traditional areas, especially morality. The voter with children in private school is concerned with fundamentals, but, in addition, is critical of public school performance on the intellectual and emotional development of the pupil. The public school parent is critical only in a few areas, those of occupational and college preparation.

Q. What effect does extent and form of participation have on criticisms?

The non-participating voter is critical of loyalty to the United States and knowledge of local regions. He is also likely to give more emphasis to the so-called frill courses like driver education and recreation. The active voter who is not interested is concerned with intellectual fundamentals and good behavior.

Interest shown by communicatory activity, rather than direct participation, is more closely associated with favorable attitudes toward local schools. Direct participation, rather than communicated interest, is more closely related to an optimistic view of economic conditions.

Q. Who hears more good and bad things about local schools?

Voters who participate directly in school activities are most likely to hear good things about the local schools. However, if the direct participant is not also interested, he is most likely to hear bad things about the schools.

Q. What kind of participation leads to pride?

Communicated interest, rather than direct participation, is more closely related to a feeling of pride in some aspect of the local schools.

IV. What are the roots of greater participation?

Q. What is of great importance in determining participation?

A sense of efficacy, a feeling that the voter's participation will be meaningful.

Q. How widespread are feelings of efficacy?

A third of the voters feel they have little to say about what the schools do. Almost half feel the only voice voters have is the act of voting. A fourth feel public school officials don't care what the average voter thinks. Over two-fifths of the voters think educational policy is too complicated for persons like them to understand.

Q. How does efficacy relate to attitudes about schools and economics?

A feeling of efficacy is strong in voters who see both schools and economic conditions favorably, but weak in voters who see both unfavorably. Efficacy has a higher relationship to evaluation of the schools than to perception of the economic situation.

Q. Who doesn't feel that participation is efficacious?

The older voter of low education, who is by occupation a skilled worker, clerk or salesman, or -- because he is older -- retired.

Q. Who does have a feeling of efficacy?

The young voter of high education.

Q. What is the effect on efficacy of the child's status in school?

The school status of the child, while related to participation, is not related to efficacy when participation is held constant.

Q. What satisfactions are derived from participation?

Principally, a sense of reassurance that the schools are doing, or trying to do, a good job.

Q. Who reports dissatisfactions from participating?

The voter who participates actively but has a low feeling of efficacy. Similarly, the active but uninterested voter derives fewer satisfactions than the interested but inactive voter.

Q. What are the sources of pressure to be involved in school affairs?

The voter first finds pressures within himself to participate, secondly from his child. There is also a two-step pressure flow from schools to wife to husband.

Q. Who feels these pressures most?

The younger, more educated voter.

Q. Who is expected to be the more active in school activities?

The wife.

Q. Who is expected to be the more active in school financial policies?

Both husband and wife.

Q. Who most often follows the role prescriptions?

The voter who perceives any role more often plays one; however, he is less likely to play the role perceived.

V. How does the family affect participation?

Q. What makes for more discussion between husband and wife about schools?

Less age discrepancy; less education discrepancy; more general agreement

on school matters; if their usual method of resolving differences is discussion; if their form of interaction during our interview was to discuss the questions between them; more non-school activities engaged in jointly; if their youngest child is under eighteen; greater perception of parental responsibility.

Q. To what extent do these factors cancel each other out?

The effect of these characteristics is cumulative; each has an independent effect. A combination of all eight provides a very powerful instrument for predicting non-participation.

Q. Do perceived pressures to participate affect husband-wife discussion?

Yes, where pressures are perceived, the husband and wife are more likely to discuss local schools.

Q. What is the effect of not following a prescribed role for participation?

Where a role is perceived for both husband and wife to be active and that role is followed, the effect in terms of participation is less than when the perceived role is for one to be active and both are equally active.

Q. Do voters try to influence their spouses about school affairs?

About one-sixth report they do. They are divided nearly equally between husbands and wives. By the spouse's testimony, two-thirds of these attempts are successful.

Q. What are the subjects of these influence attempts?

The husband usually tries to influence his wife on school finances, buildings and facilities, and curriculum. The wife usually makes her attempts on teaching methods and participation in school activities. The voter is more often

successful in areas that he most often tries.

Q. What kinds of persons are successful influence wielders?

They tend to be successful influencers of opinions on schools with other persons than the spouse, to make more attempts, to possess more information, and to be influenced themselves.

VI. How do the schools communicate to the voters?

Q. Who are perceived as sources of information about the schools?

Two-thirds of the voters would turn to a school official for information about the schools, but only a third nominate a school official as a person they know who seems to be well informed on school affairs.

Q. What are the actual channels of information about the schools?

Voters depend mostly on newspapers and personal talks with friends. They would prefer, however, to talk directly to someone representing the schools.

Q. Do voters talk with school people at the time of a financial election?

The little communication voters had with school representatives at the time of a bond issue election was largely passive; they listened but said very little.

Q. Does the perception of school officials as information sources relate to voting favorably in school elections?

Voters who voted "yes" on the bond issue were more likely to think of school officials as information sources, informed or not. They were also more likely to have talked with an informed source.

Q. What channels of communication used are related to favorable voting?

Voters who voted "yes" on the bond issue were more likely to have read

school bulletins or to have heard speeches by representatives of the schools.

Q. What do voters want to know more about?

About how the schools are run, about curriculum, and about teaching methods. The concern about curriculum was evident even during the bond issue campaign.

Q. Who wants more information?

The voter who sees economic conditions as good but the schools as bad (the "Grumbler") and the voter with a low sense of efficacy but a high level of participation. These two voters are most curious about curriculum.

Q. What is the likely effect of increased information?

The voter who wanted more information was no more likely to vote or vote "yes" in the bond election. The voter who wanted more information about curriculum was least likely to vote "yes."

Q. Do the reasons for wanting more information tell us anything?

Voters who wanted information to be able to do something or to have the "right" information were unlikely to vote or to vote "yes." So were voters who wanted no more information because they were not interested. Voters who wanted information because the subject was important or of interest, or because they wanted reassurance were more likely to vote and vote "yes." So were voters who wanted no more information because they knew enough already.

Q. What do men and women talk about with respect to the schools?

Men talk more than women about school costs, administration, building needs, curriculum, and sports. Women talk more about students and special programs

or events.

Q. Who do they talk to?

Men talk more with someone at work. Women talk more with someone connected with the schools or friends and neighbors. Talking with someone at work, men concentrate on school costs, building needs, and sports. Talking with someone connected with the schools, women emphasize students, special services, and special programs or events.

Q. In what terms do schools, newspapers, and voters talk of a bond issue?

Voters talked about the bond issue in much more general terms than either the schools or the newspapers.

Q. What is the effect of an approaching election on school communicatory behavior?

As the election approached, the schools changed their emphasis to more general aspects of the bond issue.

Q. What seems to determine voter attention to school communications?

Existing attitudes. There is nothing to indicate that communications have any lasting effect on attitudes, other than to reinforce those already held.

* * * * *

Conclusions

This is not an encouraging picture. General values for education do not prevent a plethora of criticisms-- usually from the higher educated. Participation is low and the feeling that participation is possible or worthwhile is missing in nearly half the voters. Aside from parents, schools have little immediate support and, as their

children grow, parents too are disaffected. Communicatory activity in itself is not an answer, for that too would be largely ignored by those for whom it was intended.

What then are the answers? What does our research show that would point a way up from this sluggish eddy of dissatisfaction? There is one asset that should be recognized. Education is too important an institution for the public to neglect it completely. Some messages do get through. Thus a first step would be to take maximum advantage of this edge. That first step might well be an investment, a beginning attempt to establish more communications between school and voters. As we have seen, that calls for more attention from the voters, who now feel that such attention has no efficacy. One way to implement this invitation is to make it easier for the voters to communicate with the schools -- this can't be just another informational program, unidirectional and blind. The voters have given us a good lead here. They want more personal contact with school representatives. At the same time they tell us that only a third of the well informed persons on school topics they know are school people. It would appear that the schools could improve the situation considerably not only by making it clear they are open to communication but by proving it through an adequate program of widening school representation. The schools need more spokesmen and fewer apologists. Voters recognize apologists and tune them out.

But something has to result from more communication. If it is unproductive, the cycle of despair will start anew. In selecting urban areas to survey, we chose one that had experienced extreme difficulty. Voters in this area, we found, would have been predicted to be very high in their support of the schools on the basis of

every characteristic but one. City B, the community in difficulty, has younger voters, more recent residents, more children in school, more skilled workers, and better attitudes toward the schools (See Appendix A). What City B lacks is voters who participate. Because they have every reason to participate, we can only conclude that they find participation impossible or fruitless.

Circumstances accompanying greater size make it necessary to shift the initiative from the public to a small group of school leaders. Although subject to review, it is possible for these leaders to shut off communication. If they do so, they are sure to discourage participation. This may create a quiet arena in which the leaders can work, but in times of crisis the lack of understanding makes of every question a conflict. Our goal can not be acquiescence, it must be understanding. Both school leaders and voters must contribute their share of commitment to achieve this understanding.

Nationally, school leaders can assist understanding by providing a constructive discussion of the functions of public schools in our society. (Of all needs, this is closest to fulfillment!) Locally, school leaders can open up, put out the welcome mat, and expect to have more difficulties -- for awhile. School leaders should consider offering formal instruction on the subject of education and educational institutions, so future voters will know as much about schools in general as they know about the school they attended.

But to the voters the greater task falls. They must hold faith in the potential of education, whatever the single product of the school. They must commit themselves to participation, whatever their reception, regardless of satisfaction. They must overcome the obstacles which intervene between voter and school.

They must listen to and encourage each other, for the schools can not hear everyone nor can they reward everyone.

The U.S. Commissioner of Education, Lawrence G. Derthick, said on returning from a 1958 trip to Russia that the commitment of the Russian people to education was very impressive. He said the progress of American education rested on a similar commitment by our people. The school leader, he said, has pulled about as far as he can; someone must start pushing.

Clearly, the challenge is to the voter. A simple increase in values will be as ineffectual as the often tried information program by the schools. Greater value on education as a useful commodity makes the voter a frustrated, critical consumer when the need is for productive participation in school affairs. The schools can help, but it is the voters who must finally accept responsibility, who must meet the challenge of commitment.

CHAPTER ONE

WHAT DOES THE VOTER THINK OF HIS SCHOOLS?

Support for public education, and indeed the support of any public institution, rests on the usefulness it has for the citizens who must pay the bills. The understanding which we say to be the first need of adequate school-community relations must be founded on a value which education is perceived to have. If citizens turn away from education, if they find no value in education, then any attempts to communicate with them will fail. In addition, if the schools do not know the specific values citizens see in education, then their communication efforts to secure understanding may go unaimed and, too often, fail.

In this chapter, we look at the values that eligible voters see in their local schools. Three groups of these voters are from different areas of our country. City A voters live in the industrial region of the North Central states; City B voters live in the expanding Far West; City C voters live in a Southeastern university city. Their schools differ widely. Their community relations differ even more. City A has a thriving, well-backed system, and maintains a vigorous after-hours program. City B has a recent history of strife between school and community. City C has enjoyed many years of peaceful development and school-community cooperation. Unlike in many respects, these cities are yet strikingly similar in the values their voters see in the local schools. City D voters live in an urban area of the Far West.

They differ from the other three cities' voters in that we interviewed them just before and just after a local school bond election. But they too hold many values in common with voters in the other cities.

The samples are described in Appendix A, the analysis procedures in Appendix B, and the questionnaires are reproduced in Appendix C. In Cities A, B, and C, the questions relevant to this chapter dealt with voter evaluations of local schools, what voters heard and read about the schools, and what voters perceived to be the importance and performance locally of 42 educational areas. The first two of these were replicated in City D. We also attempted in City D to find out the relative saliency of nine attitudes pertaining to the schools. These too are reported in this chapter.

Questions on voter evaluation of the schools follow up the work of Bush and Deutschmann (4), who found that values toward education generally were universally high -- too high, in fact, to allow discrimination among voters. They found, however, that voters who found it difficult to give anything but the highest value to education itself were able to distinguish varying degrees of value in their local schools. This is equally evident here.

In order to get at the specific criticisms of local schools, we asked voters what they heard from others about the schools, and what they read in national magazines about schools. Finally, we asked them in what aspects of the local schools they had pride.

The Midwest Administration Center at the University of Chicago has been studying the citizen's values for 16 tasks of education (23). These tasks fall into

four areas:

Intellectual -- possession of knowledge, communication of knowledge, creation of knowledge, and desire for knowledge.

Social -- man to man, man to state, man to country, and man to world.

Personal -- physical, emotional, ethical, and aesthetic.

Productive -- vocation selection, vocation preparation, home and family, and consumer.

We have adapted their items and added more. At the suggestion of Hanna (15), we have set out five more task areas covering the pupil's orientation to the environment:

To the local city and county, the local state, the local region, the nation, and the world.

Further, we added 21 curricular and service areas. These pinpoint specific course and service functions of schools but represent much the same areas covered under tasks. (These are listed, as are the tasks, later in the chapter.) Hanna furnished another suggestion: These 42 areas should be offered to voters not only for perceptions of their importance; they should also be offered for perceptions as to the schools' performance. The latter rating has significance in its own right, but it also gives us a benchmark to assess ratings of importance. Thus, for example, an area which receives a high importance rating is seen in better perspective if we know how high its performance rating is. The implication of high importance -- low performance as a pair of ratings is certainly greater than ratings of high importance -- high performance.

In City D, we asked several questions in each of nine areas, attempting to

establish indexes of attitudes. These, with their major sources, are:

Evaluation of schools (Bush and Deutschmann, ibid.)

Pride in schools

Evaluation of school costs (Bush and Deutschmann, ibid.)

Economic consequences of election (Bush, 3)

Evaluation of teachers (Danielson, 10; Bush and Deutschmann, ibid.)

Evaluation of community (Pierce, 26)

Anti-intellectualism (Adams, 1; Schramm, 31)

Evaluation of 3 R's

Immediate rewards from education (Schramm, 30)

The items used to construct these indexes and the reliability of the indexes are reported in Appendix B.

In every city we asked voters their age, educational level, child's status in school, length of residence in community, and occupation of main wage earner in family. These, with sex, allow us to identify those who hold extreme values, favorable and unfavorable.

With samples as large as those recorded here, the question of statistical significance properly yields to the question of importance. Almost any difference of several percent in Tables 1.1 to 1.5 and in Figures 1.1 to 1.4 is statistically significant at the .05 level. Fascinating as the comparison of cities may be -- and it becomes obvious that City B is the problem community -- the differences within all cities are greater by far than those between cities. Where statistical significance becomes a factor, the applicable confidence limits are reported.

* * * * *

Evaluation of Local Schools

Voters give their schools a vote of general confidence, but they find fault on particulars, as shown in Tables 1.1 through 1.5. They are concerned about frills and pupils' play. Illustrative comments are:

Too much recreation in the schools. Youngsters today go to school for a good time and they don't get what they should out of school. They don't realize the value of education.

I feel that school buildings should be more standardized. Too much money is spent on fancy equipment. Spend the money on building more classrooms.

I think too much money is put out to impress people rather than from a practical standpoint. I think our money could be spent more carefully. We have gone overboard on frills. We need simpler education.

However, the value for education is there. In some ways, perhaps, too much value is placed on education. It is expected to accomplish great things:

Good education is the solution of the problems of our country.

Students should be able to pass university exams after high school, if properly trained and disciplined. Children are not so much mentally unfit as badly trained. They get in sloppy habits through lack of discipline.

I wish now that somehow I'd been made to go on to college . . . I don't know how you make a kid keep on going to school or take courses he doesn't like, but somehow it should be done.

Another indication of the high value placed on education is the response to the question in Table 1.5. Asked how they compared to the average person they knew on what they thought of the school, three-fourths said the same as the average. Only six percent said less than average. There is here a norm, an expectation that one should have a high value for education. Historically, the schools have enjoyed a reputation as a prime means for rising above one's beginnings. But now there may be hollow echoes to this praise, for the schools after Sputnik are reviewed by a

newly concerned populace that must rise above far more than its beginnings.

* * * * *

Table 1.1. Evaluation of Local Schools by Voters in Four Cities: Overall Performance.*

<u>SCHOOLS ARE. . .</u>	CITY:				<u>AVERAGE</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	
Very good	29.1%	27.4%	38.9%	24.5%	30.4%
Pretty good	55.3	44.3	45.8	46.5	48.1
Somewhat good	8.8	10.4	5.3	16.4	9.7
Not very good	2.8	5.7	3.4	8.3	4.8
Not good at all	1.1	1.7	2.1	1.3	1.6
Don't know	<u>2.9</u>	<u>10.5</u>	<u>4.5</u>	<u>3.0</u>	<u>5.4</u>
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "On the whole, would you say that the schools here in _____ are doing a good job?"

Table 1.2. Evaluation of Local Schools by Voters in Four Cities: Pupils' Play.*

<u>PUPILS PLAY. . .</u>	CITY:				<u>AVERAGE</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	
Not at all too much	16.3%	20.4%	32.0%	14.5%	21.3%
Not very much	27.8	25.0	20.6	26.3	24.9
Somewhat too much	23.0	17.4	14.2	22.6	19.0
Pretty much	13.5	13.2	9.0	14.3	12.4
Very much	7.8	7.1	3.1	14.7	7.6
Don't know	<u>11.6</u>	<u>16.9</u>	<u>21.1</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>14.8</u>
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "Does it seem to you that the children play too much in the local schools?"

Table 1.3. Evaluation of Local Schools by Voters in Four Cities: Frills.*

<u>FRILLS EXIST. . .</u>	CITY:				<u>AVERAGE</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	
Not at all	16.7%	22.9%	21.7%	15.5%	19.6%
Not very much	27.2	26.9	21.0	24.5	24.9
Somewhat	25.9	15.1	20.9	29.0	22.3
Pretty much	10.7	9.9	7.0	14.2	10.1
Very much	5.2	5.3	4.2	8.8	5.6
Don't know	<u>14.3</u>	<u>19.9</u>	<u>25.2</u>	<u>8.0</u>	<u>17.5</u>
N:	100.0% (849)	100.0% (827)	100.0% (848)	100.0% (593)	100.0% (3117)

* In answer to the question: "Are there a lot of sugar-coating and frills in the schools here, would you say?"

Table 1.4. Evaluation of Local Schools by Voters in Four Cities: Waste of Time for Pupils.*

<u>TIME WASTED. . .</u>	CITY:				<u>AVERAGE</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	
Not at all	63.5%	68.8%	74.5%	50.3%	65.4%
Not very much	13.7	12.2	10.7	20.6	13.8
Somewhat	14.0	8.1	8.6	18.4	11.8
Pretty much	4.6	3.7	1.8	6.6	4.0
Very much	2.2	1.9	1.3	3.2	2.1
Don't know	<u>2.0</u>	<u>5.3</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>.9</u>	<u>2.9</u>
N:	100.0% (849)	100.0% (827)	100.0% (848)	100.0% (593)	100.0% (3117)

* In answer to the question: "As you see it, does going to school seem to be a waste of time for many of the local youngsters?"

Table 1.5. Evaluation of Local Schools by Voters in Four Cities: Own Evaluation Compared to Average. *

OWN EVALUATION IS. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Higher than average	12.5%	11.0%	15.0%	19.1%	14.0%
Same as average	79.5	72.2	77.5	73.5	76.0
Lower than average	5.3	10.5	4.6	4.0	6.3
Don't know	2.7	6.3	2.9	3.4	3.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "How do you compare with the average person you know on what you think about the local schools? Would you say you favor them more than the average person, less than the average person, or about the same as the average person you know?"

Tasks of Education

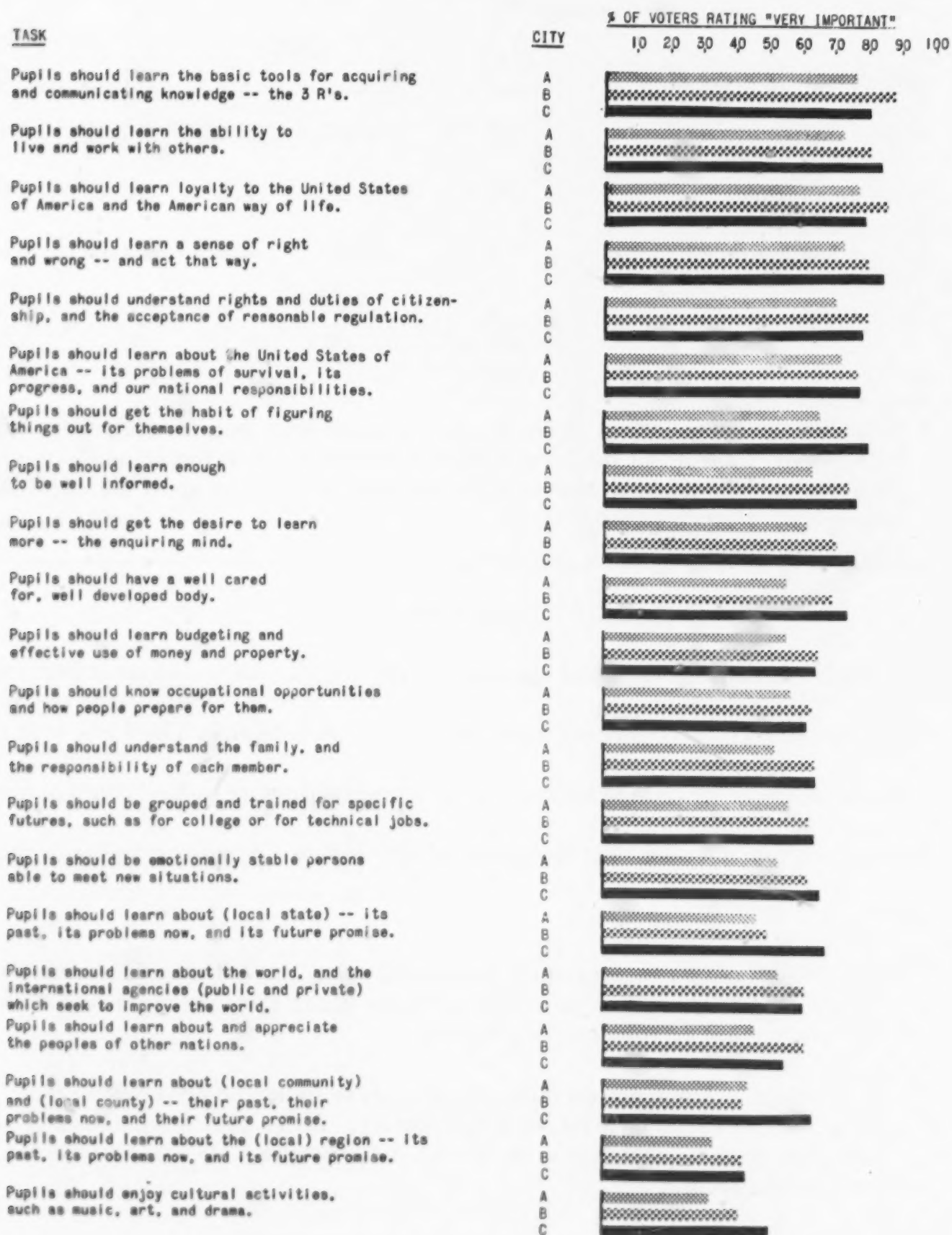
Figure 1.1 shows the chief concerns of the voters. Here are their perceptions of the importance of 21 general tasks for their local schools. The 3 R's lead the ratings, followed by living and working with others, loyalty to the United States, knowing right and wrong, and the duties of citizenship. Some applicable comments are:

We should go back to more basic education, the 3 R's and not have so much supervised play. I went to school in Texas where they had rigid requirements for mathematics, science, and English.

I think schools should offer a good course in human behavior so that students can get to understand people better. An 18 year old gets out of school and if he goes to work has to work with older people. He doesn't even try to understand them.

I'd like to see the schools teach more Americanism.

FIGURE 1.1. Ratings of "Very Important" by Voters in Three Cities on 21 Tasks of Education.



There is not enough stress placed on development of character and respect in the schools, as compared to those in Europe.

At the bottom of the ratings of importance are cultural activities and knowledge of the local region, the local community and county, and the peoples of other nations.

Of these, only cultural activities aroused comments:

I don't think art, music, etc. are worth while unless a child is inclined to be that way. I'm more for math, reading, etc. This is more basic to life than art, music, etc.

Art and music should be elective.

Although the cities differ in the extent of their importance ratings, they tend to rate the tasks in the same order. A rank correlation of the three cities' ratings yields a coefficient of .99. Clearly, the difference between cities is less significant than the similarity. Voters were given a choice of five responses to these items: not important at all, not very important, pretty important, very important, and don't know. A check was made on the use of "very important" ratings for this analysis. Using both positive responses -- "very important" and "pretty important" -- yields nearly the same ordering. The rank correlation is .88. The importance rating of knowing right from wrong is reduced by using both positive responses.

Performances of these tasks by the local schools, as shown in Figure 1.2, do not uniformly follow the orderings set by their importance ratings. Loyalty to the United States is perceived to be well performed, as are the 3 R's and living and working with others. But joining them at the top of the list are care of the body and cultural activities. The latter was at the bottom of the listings in importance. The discrepancy between importance and performance rankings is evidently of

FIGURE 1.2. Ratings of "Doing Very Well" by Voters in Three Cities on 21 Tasks of Education.



some importance, and we will return to this subject in Figure 1.5. Knowledge of the local region is at the bottom of the performance rankings, as it was for importance rankings. It is joined, however, by four newcomers: budgeting and use of money and property, knowledge of occupational opportunities, emotional stability, and understanding of the family.

Again, the ratings furnish similar rankings for the three cities. The rank correlation is .98. We begin to see here why City B has problems. It usually receives the lowest proportion of "doing very well" responses.

The effect of using only the "doing very well" responses for ranking the tasks on performance is slight. The rank correlation of the rankings by these responses is .96 with the rankings by both positive responses.

* * * * *

Curriculum and Services

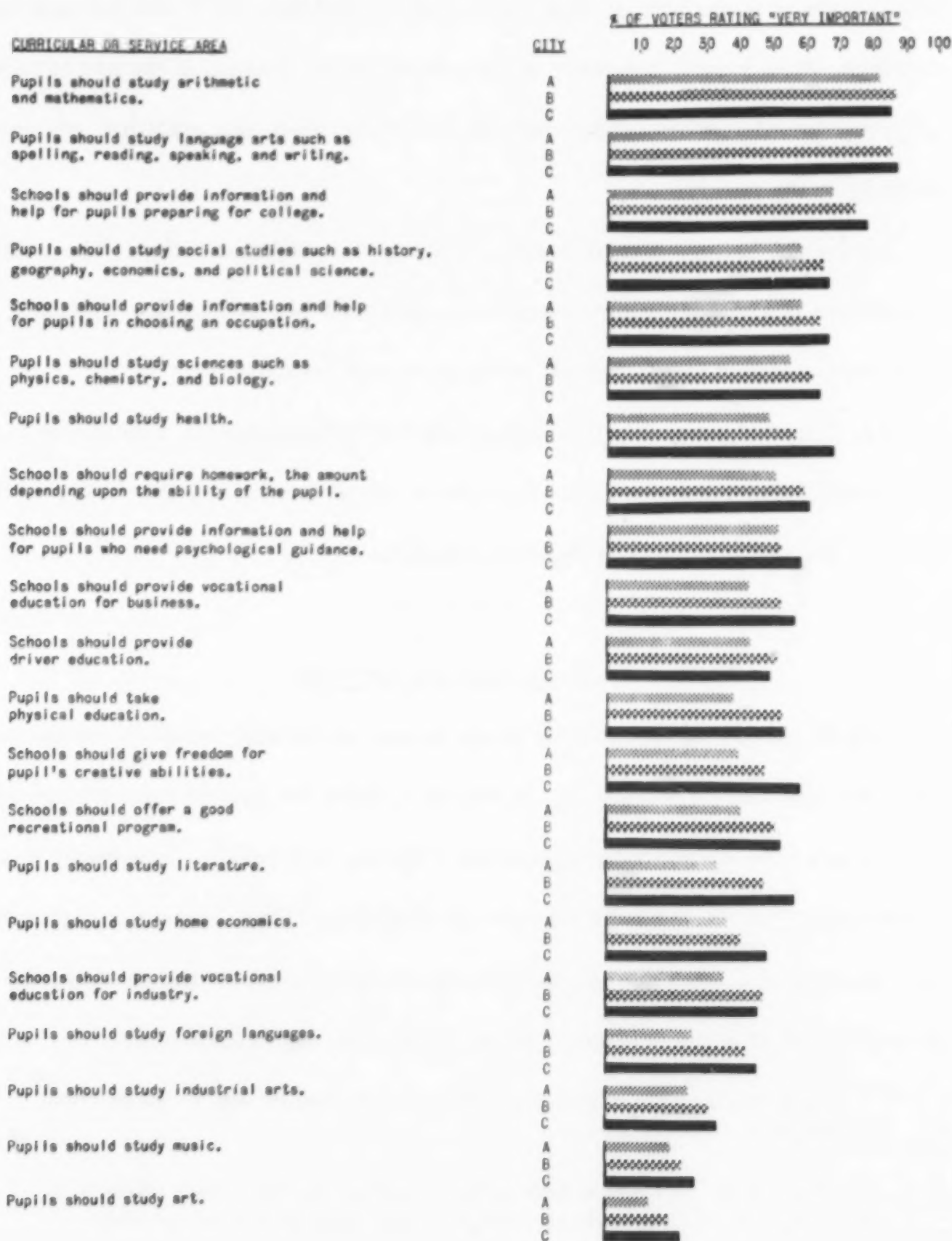
The 21 curricular and service areas cover, as we said, much the same area as the tasks, but more specifically. In Figure 1.3 are the importance rankings for these areas. As we might have expected from the task results, arithmetic and mathematics and the language arts are up at the top. Then, however, come help for college preparation and for choosing an occupation. And, the social studies are ranked higher than the sciences. Some of the comments received are:

They should give children a chance at an earlier age to learn about occupations.

More help in planning high school courses needs to be available in junior high so that necessary college requirements will be covered.

I regret the signs of lack of interest on the pupils' part in literature, history, and the social studies. It may not be the fault of the schools, but why is it so?

FIGURE 1.3. Ratings of "Very Important" by Voters in Three Cities on 21 Curricular and Service Areas in Education.



Art and music emerge at the bottom again, followed by industrial arts, foreign languages, and vocational education for industry. Comments are:

I don't approve of some of the subjects they gave my daughter -- like shop or arts and crafts.

Students shouldn't be forced to take foreign languages.

There should be some way of balancing it out so more students will be encouraged to take math and science. Boys have graduated from high school but have taken easy subjects to get good marks: they just don't have the background for the work.

The rank correlation of cities on their importance rankings of curricular and service areas is .99. The rank correlation between rankings on "very important" ratings and both positive ratings is .94.

Performance ratings of "doing very well" place arithmetic and mathematics at the head of the list in Figure 1.4, with physical education and recreation, language arts and social studies. Of these, physical education and recreation did not have high importance rankings. Help for pupils needing psychological guidance is ranked lowest in performance, along with vocational education for industry, foreign languages, industrial arts, and art. All but psychological guidance had been similarly ranked on importance. Voters commented about guidance:

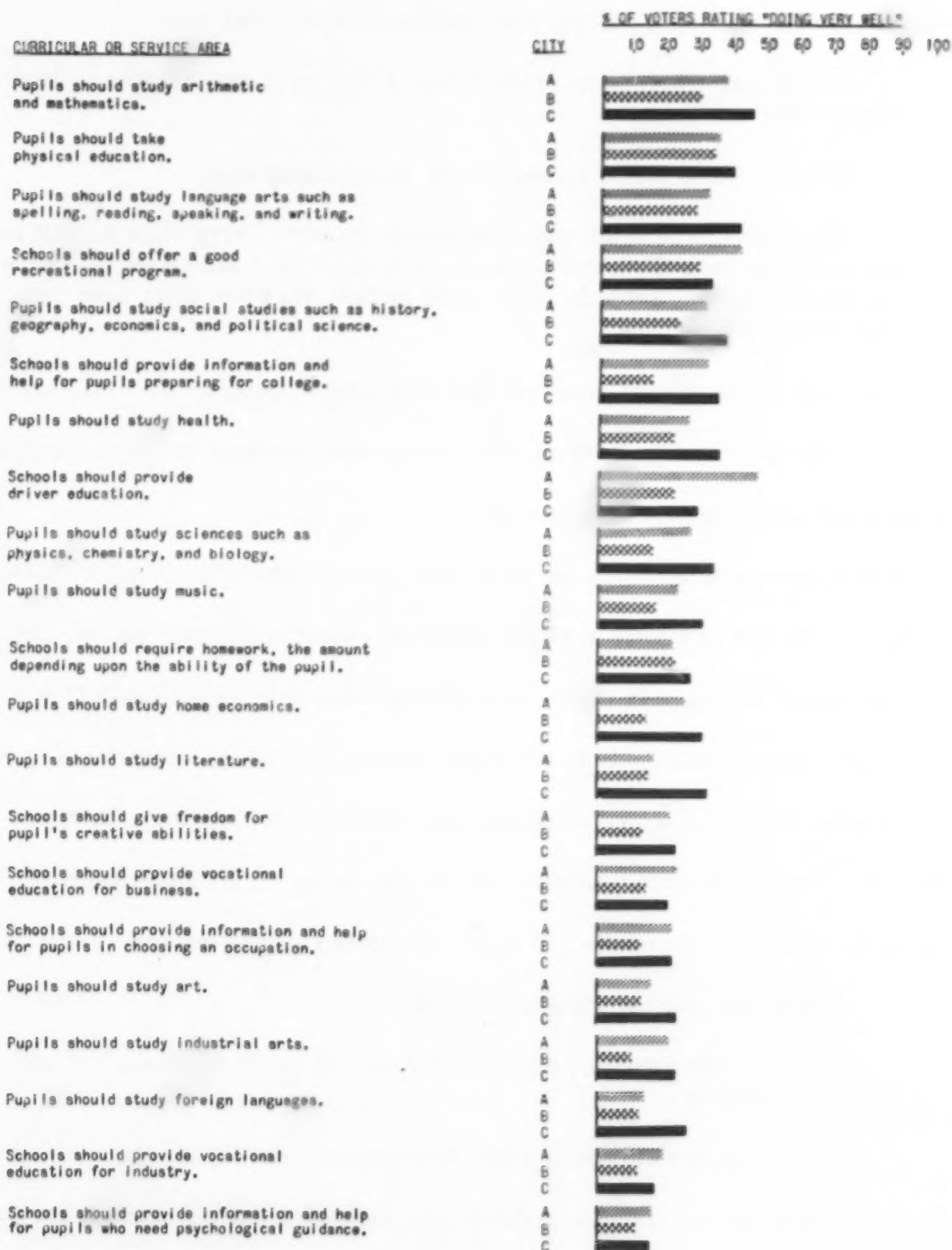
Counselors are not doing a good job.

The main thing that the local schools need is more psychological and guidance services.

Our school system needs a full-time psychologist.

For the most part, the rankings of curricular and service areas parallel the rankings of tasks.

FIGURE 1.4. Ratings of "Doing Very Well" by Voters in Three Cities on 21 Curricular and Service Areas in Education.



Very apparent in Figure 1.4 is that City B receives relatively little credit for doing well on performances in the curricular and service areas. We do not, however, intend any implication of cause. As we shall see later, these low performance ratings in City B are more likely only indicative of their problems. That is, performances are evaluation in the context of their problems. It appears unlikely that they are in fact lacking.

The rank correlation of cities on their rankings by performance of curricular and services areas is .98. The rank correlation between rankings on "doing very well" ratings and both positive ratings is .97. As before, while the cities may differ on ratings given, they still tend to rank the areas in the same order.

* * * * *

Discrepancies Between Importance and Performance

Figure 1.5 is a simple representation of the discrepancies between importance and performance rankings on 21 task areas. The space between tasks is proportional to the amount of the discrepancy. Thus, knowledge of budgeting and use of money and property and the habit of figuring things out stand away from the middle of the listing; they are tasks which, although rated less than highest in importance, were quite low on performance, yielding a higher discrepancy than several of the tasks which were rated high on importance but high also on performance. Learning a sense of right and wrong, knowing occupational opportunities, and the desire to learn more come to the top too. There is in this listing a strong hint that the practicalities of living are seen by the voters as needing attention. Their comments would bear

FIGURE 1.5. Discrepancies of Importance and Performance Rankings by Voters in Three Cities on 21 Tasks of Education.

DISCREPANCY TASK

Importance Ranking EXCEEDS Performance Ranking	Pupils should learn budgeting and effective use of money and property.
	Pupils should get the habit of figuring things out for themselves.
	Pupils should learn a sense of right and wrong -- and act that way.
	Pupils should know occupational opportunities and how people prepare for them.
	Pupils should get the desire to learn more -- the enquiring mind.
	Pupils should learn the ability to live and work with others.
	Pupils should be emotionally stable persons, able to meet new situations.
	Pupils should understand the family, and the responsibility of each member.
	Pupils should understand rights and duties of citizenship, and the acceptance of reasonable regulation.
	Pupils should learn the basic tools for acquiring and communicating knowledge -- the 3 R's.
Importance Ranking EQUALS Performance Ranking	Pupils should learn about the United States of America -- its problems of survival, its progress, and our national responsibilities.
	Pupils should learn enough to be well informed.
	Pupils should learn about the (local) region -- its past, its problems now, and its future promise.
	Pupils should be grouped and trained for specific futures, such as for college or for technical jobs.
	Pupils should learn loyalty to the United States of America and the American way of life.
	Pupils should learn about the world, and the international agencies (public and private) which seek to improve the world.
	Pupils should learn about (local community) and (local county) -- their past, their problems now, and their future promise.
	Pupils should learn about (local state) -- its past, its problems now, and its future promise.
	Pupils should have a well cared for, well developed body.
	Pupils should learn about and appreciate the peoples of other nations.
Performance Ranking EXCEEDS Importance Ranking	Pupils should enjoy cultural activities, such as music, art, and drama.

this out:

I feel schools should train pupils in such a way that they can make a living when they get out of high school. More training in trades. Not so much emphasis on preparation for college. Ability to earn a living should come first.

More people are poor than rich -- so more poor boys are in school. Education should be more practical except for the exceptionally smart ones.

Well down at the bottom are the cultural activities. They weren't perceived as at all important, but their performance was ranked relatively high. Also near the bottom are physical development and knowledge of other nations. The designation, "performance ranking exceeds importance ranking," does not imply that schools should cut down on these activities. The data would not support such a conclusion. Only priority of effort could be inferred from these rankings. Further, it should be kept in mind that these perceptions of importance and performance tell us much more about the voter than they do about the schools.

We correlated among the three cities to check the similarity of orderings. We obtained a rank correlation of .97 for the discrepancy orderings in Figure 1.5. For those in Figure 1.6, we also found a rank correlation of .97.

In Figure 1.6, psychological guidance and help in choosing an occupation are the high priority needs. Psychological guidance was not highly ranked on importance, but it was lowest on performance. Voters gave help in choosing an occupation rather high importance and only moderate performance rankings. After a large gap, second priority is given to vocational education for business, college preparation, and homework. As previous discussion suggested, physical education, music, and recreation get the least priority. Not far behind are driver education, home economics, and art.

FIGURE 1.6. Discrepancies of Importance and Performance Rankings by Voters in Three Cities on 21 Curricular and Service Areas in Education.

DISCREPANCY CURRICULAR OR SERVICE AREA

Importance Ranking EXCEEDS Performance Ranking	Schools should provide information and help for pupils who need psychological guidance. Schools should provide information and help for pupils in choosing an occupation.
--	---

Schools should provide vocational education for business.

Schools should provide information and help for pupils preparing for college.
Schools should require homework, the amount depending upon the ability of the pupil.

Schools should provide vocational education for industry.
Schools should give freedom for pupil's creative abilities.
Pupils should study sciences such as physics, chemistry, and biology.
Pupils should study language arts such as spelling, reading, speaking, and writing.
Pupils should study social studies such as history, geography, economics, and political science.

Importance Ranking EQUALS Performance Ranking	Pupils should study foreign languages. Pupils should study arithmetic and mathematics. Pupils should study health. Pupils should study industrial arts. Pupils should study literature.
---	--

Pupils should study art.
Pupils should study home economics.
Schools should provide driver education.

Performance Ranking EXCEEDS Importance Ranking	Schools should offer a good recreational program. Pupils should study music. Pupils should take physical education.
--	--

The voters, it appears, are consistent. They want that which is of practical use. They question the extras -- or, more properly, what they conceive of as extras. As one voter said:

There is too much attention to things that are not important. There should be less emphasis on sports and more concentration on sound education.

* * * * *

School Staff Attitudes

How about the staff? Do teachers and administrators agree with the priorities assigned these areas by the voters? We questioned 744 staff members in City A about the task, curricular, and service areas responded to by the voters. To some extent, there is agreement. In terms of correlation of discrepancy rankings, the coefficient for task rankings is .45; the coefficient for curricular and service rankings is .63. But there are disagreements. Figures 1.7 and 1.8 show the staff discrepancy rankings.

We might say that the voters want security for their children in the sense that they want them to compete economically. To a lesser extent, high priority is given to psychological guidance and to the ability to stand on one's own after leaving school. Among the staff members, as shown in Figures 1.7 and 1.8, the aim is the same but the emphasis changes. The staff members want the pupil to be able to stand on his own, but they think that intellectual ability is the answer rather than economic capability. They give high priority to figuring things out, which had a high ranking by the voters, but not so high as here. Knowledge of occupational opportunities, which was high on the voters' list, is far down on the staff's listing.

FIGURE 1.7. Discrepancies of Importance and Performance Rankings by Staff Members in One City on 21 Tasks of Education.

DISCREPANCY TASK

Importance
Ranking
EXCEEDS
Performance
Ranking

Pupils should get the habit of figuring things out for themselves.
Pupils should be emotionally stable persons, able to meet new situations.

Pupils should learn about the world, and the international agencies (public and private) which seek to improve the world.

Pupils should get the desire to learn more -- the enquiring mind.
Pupils should learn a sense of right and wrong -- and act that way.

Pupils should learn the ability to live and work with others.
Pupils should learn about (local state) -- its past, its problems now, and its future promise.
Pupils should understand rights and duties of citizenship, and the acceptance of reasonable regulation.

Importance
Ranking
EQUALS
Performance
Ranking

Pupils should learn about the (local region) -- its past, its problems now, and its future promise.
Pupils should learn budgeting and effective use of money and property.
Pupils should learn about and appreciate the peoples of other nations.
Pupils should learn the basic tools for acquiring and communicating knowledge -- the 3 R's.
Pupils should learn about the United States of America -- its problems of survival, its progress, and our national responsibilities.
Pupils should enjoy cultural activities, such as music, art, and drama.
Pupils should learn about (local community) and (local county) -- their past, their problems now, and their future promise.
Pupils should know occupational opportunities and how people prepare for them.

Pupils should learn enough to be well informed.
Pupils should understand the family, and the responsibility of each member.
Pupils should be grouped and trained for specific futures, such as for college or for technical jobs.

Pupils should learn loyalty to the United States of America and the American way of life.

Performance
Ranking
EXCEEDS
Importance
Ranking

Pupils should have a well cared for, well developed body.

FIGURE 1.8. Discrepancies of Importance and Performance Rankings by Staff Members in One City on 21 Curricular and Service Areas in Education.

<u>DISCREPANCY</u>	<u>CURRICULAR OR SERVICE AREA</u>
Importance Ranking EXCEEDS Performance Ranking	Schools should provide information and help for pupils who need psychological guidance.
	Pupils should study social studies such as history, geography, economics, and political science.
	Pupils should study arithmetic and mathematics. Pupils should study foreign languages. Pupils should study sciences such as physics, chemistry, and biology.
Importance Ranking EQUALS Performance Ranking	Pupils should study literature. Schools should require homework, the amount depending upon the ability of the pupil. Pupils should study language arts such as spelling, reading, speaking, and writing.
	Schools should provide information and help for pupils preparing for college. Schools should provide vocational education for industry. Pupils should study health. Schools should provide information and help for pupils in choosing an occupation.
	Pupils should study industrial arts. Schools should provide vocational education for business. Schools should give freedom for pupil's creative abilities.
Performance Ranking EXCEEDS Importance Ranking	Pupils should study home economics. Pupils should study art.
	Pupils should study music.
	Pupils should take physical education.
Performance Ranking EXCEEDS Importance Ranking	Schools should provide driver education.
	Schools should offer a good recreational program.

The staff members join the voters in giving little priority to physical development but, at the same time, they move cultural activities well up from the bottom. Another large difference comes from the high ranking by the staff for knowledge of the world in comparison to its low ranking by the voters.

As the correlations reported indicate, there is more agreement on curricular and service areas. The agreement, however, is on areas of low priority: recreation, driver education, and physical education. While the staff members agree with the voters that psychological guidance is a critical area, they give higher ranking to the social studies, arithmetic and mathematics, foreign languages, and the sciences. There are two further exceptions: the staff members champion foreign languages and they surpass the voters in the priority given to the so-called fundamentals. This latter condition turns out to be explicable: the staff members resemble that minority among the voters who clamor most for attention to the fundamentals; that is, they are young and highly educated.

* * * * *

Attitudes and Voting

There are many attitudes voters have that can affect their evaluation of the schools. What they think of the schools may be tempered by what they think of costs, what they think of the teachers, what they think of the community, and what they think of education's product. In Table 1.6 we present the relationship of each of nine attitudes to the likelihood that the voters in City D would support a local bond issue election. The relationships are measured by McCormick's K' coefficient (22). A coefficient of .12 is significant statistically at the .05 level,

given the size of the samples.

Table 1.6. Saliency of Nine Attitudes to Voting Preference Before and After a Bond Election in City D. *

ATTITUDE	SALIENCY INDEX:**	
	Before	After
Evaluation of schools	.45	.29
Evaluation of school costs	.30	.23
Pride in schools	.30	.18
Economic consequences of election	.30	.15
Evaluation of teachers	.26	.14
Evaluation of 3 R's	.16	.16
Evaluation of community	.26	-.01
Immediate rewards from education	.20	-.01
Anti-intellectualism	.18	-.01

* See Appendix B for indexes of nine attitudes and measure of voting preference.

** The Saliency Index is a coefficient of correlation, K'.

All the attitudes reported in Table 1.6 are significantly related before the election to the likelihood of a favorable vote. But on the day of the election, it rained heavily and persistently. Only two-thirds of the expected turnout appeared at the polls. Because the pre-election campaign focused on civic duty and what parents would derive for their children, the attitudes associated with these arguments subsided when some voters didn't go to the polls. (The attitude, immediate rewards from education, is a measure of the expectancy that parents would benefit via their

children.) Down too went the attitude of anti-intellectualism. This measures an extremist opinion -- that education is very valuable or that education is not valuable at all. The items themselves ask for endorsement of extreme positions, for instance, that "a person with good horse sense can go a lot farther than a guy with a fancy college education."

The attitudes which hold up are evaluation of the schools, evaluation of school costs, pride in schools, economic consequences of election, evaluation of teachers, and evaluation of 3 R's. The latter wasn't highly related to voting preference to start with, but it remained stable.

Table 1.7 Saliency of Nine Attitudes to Voting Likelihood Before and After a Bond Election in City D. *

<u>ATTITUDE</u>	SALIENCY INDEX:**	
	<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>
Evaluation of schools	.38	.23
Pride in schools	.36	.16
Evaluation of school costs	.19	.26
Economic consequences of election	.26	.14
Evaluation of teachers	.27	.12
Evaluation of community	.40	-.01
Anti-intellectualism	.24	.12
Evaluation of 3 R's	.07	.12
Immediate rewards from education	.32	-.14

* See Appendix B for indexes of nine attitudes and measure of voting likelihood.

** The Saliency Index is a coefficient of correlation, K'.

In Table 1.7 we see the same relationships between those nine attitudes and likelihood of voting at all -- whether favorable or unfavorable. Again, evaluation of community and perceived immediate rewards from education were built up in the campaign; but, in the rain, they dissolved, yielding negative correlations. Anti-intellectualism and evaluation of teachers dropped off considerably, just remaining over the .05 significance level. Evaluation of the 3 R's climbed to significance after the election when it was not significantly related to voting likelihood before the election. The weather dampened all other relationships except that between evaluation of school costs and voting likelihood; it too climbed following the election.

What happens when a sizable group of voters do not go to the polls after a campaign buildup? In an article for the Public Opinion Quarterly (7), we have analyzed this behavior using Festinger's dissonance theory (12). Festinger says that after the event many people will adjust their attitudes to the new situation -- here the fact that they didn't vote when they built up their intention to vote. Our analysis showed that some persons who did not vote but who saw their attitudes toward schools as relevant to a norm of high value toward education appear to have increased their attitudinal levels even higher to reduce the perceived discrepancy between their behavior and the valued norm. Other persons who did not vote and who saw their attitudes as relevant to the norm of low voter turnout at school financial elections appear to have decreased their attitudinal levels to reduce the perceived discrepancy between their attitudes and this norm. The first we have called a "bandwagon" effect; the second, a "sandbagging" effect. We were able to

show that the persons who changed were indeed the nonvoters. We gauged the inflation and deflation of their attitudes by comparing the attitude intensities to measures of communicatory activity. We said that there should be a congruence between attitude intensity and communicatory activity. Low intensity should accompany low communicatory activity. When attitude intensity increased over communicatory activity, this was the bandwagon effect; when attitude intensity decreased to closer congruence with communicatory activity, this was the sandbagging effect. Each is a way of compensating for an unpleasant discrepancy. The bandwagon effect was observed for the attitude, immediate rewards from education, and also for the attitude of pride in schools. We found the sandbagging effect for the attitude, evaluation of community. There were increases in the attitudes of immediate rewards from education and pride in schools, removing them even farther from actuality; there was a decrease in the attitude of evaluation of community that went beyond reasonable expectation, given the changes in other attitudinal levels.

In its way this analysis of post-election changes in attitudes is testimony to the strength of the value for education itself. As a highly valued norm, it seems to have been the basis for the changes in the attitudes of immediate rewards from education and pride in school -- the bandwagon effect. The only norm which could compete was the low value for voting in school financial elections! But it struck civic pride, an attitude not directly associated with the schools, resulting in the sandbagging effect.

* * * * *

The Good and The Bad

Just as there are many attitudes that the voters can have that are relevant to the schools, so are there many aspects of the schools toward which these attitudes are directed. For some voters there are reactions to the schools as a whole; others see the schools in terms of the students -- their accomplishments and their behavior, they see the schools in terms of the curriculum or the teachers. We found eleven categories would include nearly all comments about local schools; they and an additional three -- segregation, unspecified frills, and comparisons to European schools -- would cover all national comments read by our voters.

Table 1.8 shows the distribution in the eleven categories for four cities of the good things heard about the schools. We asked voters to tell us what they heard from others so they would respond freely when we asked about bad comments. There is no heavy focusing in the distribution: the schools are most often approved in general; then the students, teachers, and buildings and facilities are praised in that order. Some of the comments we received are:

Not having children, I know little about the schools, but I do know this generation of children is brighter than its parents. They must be learning someplace.

I have no children school age any more but I think each new generation is getting a better education. My children have a better education than I have -- they are better informed generally. My grandchildren all are learning and just because school isn't the dull place it once was doesn't mean they aren't getting a good education.

We have excellent teachers here. If they have any problems with children they really get to work at solving them.

Table 1.8. Good Things Heard About Local Schools by Voters in Four Cities.*

GOOD THINGS ARE . . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Schools generally	23.2%	28.3%	20.7%	14.0%	20.5%
How schools are run	6.1	13.9	12.7	7.8	9.8
Buildings and facilities	11.0	6.1	8.9	12.5	10.0
Students -- conduct and accomplishments	4.2	15.3	15.8	13.5	12.3
Teachers	5.4	13.3	11.8	15.6	11.9
Teaching methods	4.5	6.1	3.5	9.6	6.2
Curriculum	9.9	4.3	12.9	5.2	8.1
Sports, music, and recreation	8.5	6.1	5.8	3.8	5.8
Other extracurricular activities	5.4	1.7	2.3	3.5	3.3
Adult education	12.7	---	---	2.0	3.6
Special services for students or community	8.9	4.9	5.6	12.5	8.5
Other (Miscellaneous)	.2	---	---	---	---
N:**	100.0% (426)	100.0% (346)	100.0% (482)	100.0% (601)	100.0% (1855)

* In answer to the question: "Have you heard any good things about the local schools from other people recently? What?"

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

A look at the total number of favorable responses for each city shows City B, the problem community, with many less than the other cities. City D, seen at the time of an election, has many more comments in proportion to the number of voters

interviewed. In comparing entries for individual cities, a difference of 5% would be statistically significant at the .05 level.

Where voters tended to give approval in general terms to their schools, they criticise the schools on specifics, as shown in Table 1.9. The students bear the most criticism, followed by the school administration. Then the buildings and grounds (frills), teachers, and teaching methods are disparaged. The voters criticise the students for their behavior:

I don't go for children being out at lunch time. I see kids from high school in the bowling alleys at lunch time and they are smoking all over the place. I wish you could see this teen-ager who lives next door. She's really typical. She boasts that she gets D's and can smoke.

The only thing I've heard about the schools is the kids' robbing the lockers.

The morals of a large percentage of high school students are much more degenerate than they were when I was in high school. They are terrible.

I would like to see more attention given to good grooming and good manners. I feel sure children's behavior is related to their appearance.

Several other illustrative criticisms are:

I don't like this progressive system, sight reading for instance, and the system of teaching arithmetic. The present high school boys can't spell. Cars should be taken off the high school campus. Cars and football take far too much of a high school boy's time.

I don't see why the same plans can't be used for schools. For instance, a new high school was just built below here. Now why can't \$40,000 or more be saved in architect's fees by using those plans for the new high school they're building here.

The election time gives City D a high proportion of criticisms about buildings and grounds. City B criticises its administration particularly. City C receives few criticisms overall, demonstrating its quiescent state. Differences of 7% would be

significant at the .05 level.

Table 1.9. Bad Things Heard About Local Schools by Voters in Four Cities. *

BAD THINGS ARE . . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Schools generally	2.2%	8.6%	2.8%	.9%	3.0%
How schools are run	9.4	34.3	23.4	14.2	18.3
Buildings and facilities	8.1	9.3	6.4	19.3	13.6
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	38.4	22.8	24.9	30.4	29.9
Teachers	10.9	9.6	18.4	10.1	10.9
Teaching methods	15.0	5.2	5.0	10.9	10.0
Curriculum	9.7	6.2	10.6	9.3	8.9
Sports, music, and recreation	2.6	.3	.7	4.2	2.7
Other extracurricular activities	2.2	.3	1.4	---	.7
Adult education	.6	.3	---	---	.2
Special services for students or community	.9	3.1	6.4	.7	1.8
N:**	100.0% (320)	100.0% (324)	100.0% (141)	100.0% (740)	100.0% (1525)

* In answer to the question: "Have you heard any bad things about the local schools from other people recently? What?"

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

What voters hear criticized about their local schools and what they read in national magazines about schools generally are quite different. National criticisms center on curriculum and segregation, as shown in Table 1.10. Curriculum drew

Table 1.10. National Criticisms of Schools Read by Voters in Three Cities.*

CRITICISMS READ ARE. . .	CITY:			AVERAGE
	A	B	C	
Schools generally	4.2%	4.0%	2.7%	3.7%
How schools are run	4.4	6.3	5.9	5.5
Buildings and facilities	13.2	12.2	11.8	12.4
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	10.3	21.3	14.3	15.5
Teachers	6.3	7.4	9.7	7.7
Teaching methods	10.1	5.3	2.7	6.3
Curriculum	16.1	22.0	25.6	20.9
Sports, music, and recreation	2.2	.3	---	.9
Other extracurricular activities	1.3	---	1.1	.8
Adult education	.6	---	---	.2
Special services for students or community	.2	1.0	2.1	1.0
Segregation problem	22.6	11.1	17.7	17.0
Comparison of U.S. schools to Russian and European schools	1.6	5.1	2.5	3.2
Too many frills (not specified under buildings or curriculum)	6.3	4.0	3.9	4.8
Other (Miscellaneous)	.6	---	---	.1
N:**	100.0% (552)	100.0% (583)	100.0% (441)	100.0% (1576)

* In answer to the question: "What criticisms of schools have you read recently in national magazines?"

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

many comments, some of which are reported earlier. But comment appeared also linking curriculum to comparisons of our schools with European schools:

We should pattern our schools after European schools where they study much harder and demands on the students are greater. Emphasis here is on social development which is a waste of time, futile, and ridiculous.

Again, there is more total criticism reported in City B. In comparing cities, a difference of 6% is significant at the .05 level.

Table 1.11 shows the aspects of the local schools in which voters feel pride. The responses here differ from the good things heard about the schools in that aspects are selected which are relatively easy to identify with in a psychological sense. Thus, for instance, voters find pride in teachers but not in teaching methods, they are proud of extracurricular activities rather than of curriculum. Voters find buildings and facilities especially easy to identify with. Students do not enjoy this identification, however.

The cities differ widely in their pride. City A likes its extracurricular activities and adult education, but not its administration, students, and teachers. City B is highest on pride in students. City C is very close to the average on all aspects of the schools. City D likes its buildings and facilities but not the schools generally. Differences of 4% are significant at the .05 level.

* * * * *

Table 1.11. Aspects of Local Schools in which Voters of Four Cities Have Pride.*

PROUD OF. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Schools generally	17.4%	13.7%	13.2%	3.0%	12.7%
How schools are run	4.4	13.9	16.9	16.8	12.5
Buildings and facilities	14.9	21.4	18.8	27.5	19.7
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	4.7	10.9	9.2	8.0	8.1
Teachers	7.2	15.9	14.6	15.4	12.9
Teaching methods	2.1	6.5	2.5	5.0	3.7
Curriculum	8.4	5.8	9.1	10.0	8.4
Sports, music, and recreation	14.0	8.3	10.3	7.7	10.5
Other extracurricular activities	4.6	.9	1.2	2.0	2.3
Adult education	14.9	.5	---	1.4	4.7
Special services for students or community	7.4	2.2	4.2	3.2	4.5
N:**	100.0% (1006)	100.0% (790)	100.0% (1060)	100.0% (597)	100.0% (3453)

* In answer to the question: "Is there anything about the local schools that you are proud of? What?"

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

Support and Opposition

Bush and Deutschmann found that those most favorable to the schools were the young, the educated, and the women. They did not, however, look at each of these

characteristics holding the others constant. In Table 1.12 such an analysis is reported. Youth, defined as those under 51, is the variable principally related to favorable attitudes toward the schools. The females are more favorable except among older persons of low education; the lower educated are the more favorable except among older females.

With age the only demographic variable consistently related to attitude toward schools, the factor of children suggests itself. Table 1.13 shows the relationship of child's status in school to attitudes about the schools. Clearly, it makes a great difference that a child is of school age in considering the attitude of the voter toward the school. It makes somewhat less difference whether the child is in public or private school. The question now is: Does the factor of age disappear when we control for child's status in school? Table 1.14 gives the answer: No. But with reservations.

With children in public school, youth makes a considerable difference still; the younger the voter, the more favorable his attitude. This reverses for voters with children in private school. For voters with no children or children out of school the relationship is irregular; the most favorable group is the middle age voters. Within each age group those voters with children in school are the most favorable. Except for the few cases of persons over 50 with children in private school, the voters with children in public school are most favorable.

With samples as large as these, the consistent relationships noted in the previous tables are significant at the .05 level. In terms of importance, however, there are several singular characteristics revealed in these tables. The most

Table 1.12. Evaluation of Local Schools by Sex-Age-Education Characteristics, for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>SEX/AGE/EDUCATION</u>		<u>EVALUATION OF SCHOOLS:</u>		<u>Totals</u>
		<u>Less favorable</u>	<u>More favorable</u>	
Male-Young-Low	(N=275)	48.0%	52.0	100.0%
Male-Young-High	(N=517)	51.4%	48.6	100.0%
Male-Old-Low	(N=236)	62.3%	37.7	100.0%
Male-Old-High	(N=151)	64.2%	35.8	100.0%
Female-Young-Low	(N=276)	43.1%	56.9	100.0%
Female-Young-High	(N=657)	47.5%	52.5	100.0%
Female-Old-Low	(N=229)	63.3%	36.7	100.0%
Female-Old-High	(N=146)	57.5%	42.5	100.0%

* Voters from the three cities are combined. Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above. The index for evaluation of local schools is given in Appendix B.

Table 1.13. Evaluation of Local Schools by School Status of Children, for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>VOTER HAS . . .</u>		<u>EVALUATION OF SCHOOLS:</u>		<u>Totals</u>
		<u>Less favorable</u>	<u>More favorable</u>	
No children	(N=473)	64.3%	35.7	100.0%
Children, but not in school	(N=885)	61.8%	38.2	100.0%
Children, in public school	(N=971)	39.1%	60.9	100.0%
Children, in private school	(N=196)	47.4%	52.6	100.0%

* Voters from the three cities are combined. The index for evaluation of local schools is given in Appendix B.

Table 1.14. Evaluation of Local Schools by Age of Voter and by School Status of Children, for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>AGE/CHILD'S SCHOOL STATUS</u>	<u>EVALUATION OF SCHOOLS:</u>		<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Less favorable</u>	<u>More favorable</u>	
<u>21-30</u>			
No children (N=80)	70.0%	30.0	100.0%
Children, not in school (N=124)	63.7%	36.3	100.0%
Children, in public school (N=97)	32.0%	68.0	100.0%
Children, in private school (N=14)	57.1%	42.9	100.0%
<u>31-50</u>			
No children (N=232)	60.8%	39.2	100.0%
Children, not in school (N=228)	59.2%	40.8	100.0%
Children, in public school (N=804)	39.3%	60.7	100.0%
Children, in private school (N=163)	47.2%	52.8	100.0%
<u>51 plus</u>			
No children (N=161)	66.4%	33.6	100.0%
Children, not in school (N=533)	62.5%	37.5	100.0%
Children, in public school (N=70)	47.1%	52.9	100.0%
Children, in private school (N=19)	42.1%	57.9	100.0%

* Voters from the three cities are combined. The index for evaluation of local schools is given in Appendix B.

critical and the most favorable groups are both in the 21-30 age range -- those with no children and those with children in public schools, respectively. The second most critical group is the voters over 50 without children; the second most favorable group

are voters between 31 and 50 with children in public schools. Table 1.15 and 1.16 show the length of residence in community and occupation of main wage earner in family for these four groups. The differences are both obvious and significant statistically at the .05 level.

Table 1.15. Length of Residence in Community by Extreme Groups in Evaluation of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>EVALUATION OF SCHOOLS:</u>	<u>LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN COMMUNITY:</u>				<u>Totals</u>
	<u>0-9 yrs.</u>	<u>10-19 yrs.</u>	<u>20-29 yrs.</u>	<u>30 plus</u>	
<u>Very Low: No children,</u> Age 21-30 (N=80)	29.1%	8.9	57.0	5.0	100.0%
<u>Very High: Children in</u> public school, Age 21-30 (N=97)	71.6%	12.6	9.5	6.3	100.0%
<u>Very Low: No children,</u> Age 51 plus (N=161)	11.8%	17.4	8.1	62.7	100.0%
<u>Very High: Children in</u> public school, Age 31-50 (N=804)	44.2%	24.0	9.8	22.0	100.0%

* Voters from the three cities are combined. The index for evaluation of local schools is given in Appendix B. The extreme groups are taken from Table 1.14.

Voters in the 21-30 age bracket who have no children are most often life-long residents of the community. Their counterparts who have children in the public schools are usually new residents of the community. Staying with these two groups, we see in Table 1.16 that the young voters without children tend to fall in the occupational category of professional and technical. Those with children in public schools appear in the categories of clerical or sales and skilled workers. This would support the common hypothesis that education is most useful to persons who

want their children to move up in the social hierarchy.

Table 1. 16. Occupation of Main Wage Earner in Family by Extreme Groups in Evaluation of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities. *

OCCUPATION	EVALUATION OF SCHOOLS:			
	Very Low: No child, 21-30	Very High: Child in Sch. 21-30	Very Low: No child, 51 plus	Very High: Child in Sch. 31-50
Professional or technical	27.8%	9.5%	8.1%	11.7%
Proprietor or managerial	10.1	9.5	12.4	14.8
Clerical or sales	16.5	25.3	14.9	19.8
Skilled worker	16.5	32.6	11.8	25.8
Semi-skilled worker	6.3	7.4	10.6	12.0
Unskilled worker	11.4	8.4	8.7	8.1
Services	3.8	4.2	5.0	5.8
Retired or unemployed	3.8	---	27.3	.4
Not ascertained	3.8	3.1	1.2	1.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(80)	(97)	(161)	(804)

* Voters from the three cities are combined. The index for evaluation of local schools is given in Appendix B. The extreme groups are taken from Table 1. 14.

Those voters who are 51 or over and who have no children are similarly found in the long-time residents of the community. By occupation, they are distinguished by the large number who are retired. It is this group which is generally considered to be the most unfavorable toward supporting the schools. Those voters in the 31-50 age range and who have children in the public schools are most likely to be

recent residents, and they too, like the favorable young voters, have occupations in the clerical or sales and skilled worker categories.

Support for public education requires more than a favorable attitude toward the schools, however. As we shall see in Chapter Three, that attitude must be recast in terms of the voters' perceptions of the economic situation.

* * * * *

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, we have found a pervasive favorable attitude toward the schools in general. On particular aspects of the schools, there are criticisms of frills and too much play.

The voters give the most importance to the schools' educating pupils in the fundamentals and in loyalty to the United States. But they also see the schools doing a relatively good job in these areas. When we compare importance and performance rankings of the schools' work, the voters appear to stress the need for pupils being able to stand on their own when they finish school. This is evidenced by concern for occupational and economic capabilities primarily, but by concern also for the psychological adjustment of the pupils.

Staff members in one city were questioned about these same areas. They too want the student to be able to stand on his own. Staff members, however, emphasize intellectual fundamentals as the preparation needed. They note the need for emotional stability in the pupil as well as psychological guidance in the schools. They give much more priority to world affairs and to foreign languages than the voters.

In determining the likelihood of voting in a school financial election, and the likelihood of a favorable vote as well, the attitudes of evaluation of schools, evaluation of school costs, and pride in schools are most influential. Attitudes of evaluation of community and perceived immediate rewards from education were built up in a pre-election campaign but disappeared following the election. Analysis showed that voters with strong attitudes in these two areas did not vote in the election as expected. Following the election they compensated by changing their attitudes to conform with their values -- for education, for not voting, or for both. The results we called the bandwagon effect (increasing the intensity of the attitude, immediate rewards from education, to bring it in line with the high norm for education) and the sandbagging effect (decreasing the intensity of the attitude, evaluation of community, to bring it in line with the norm of non-voting in school financial elections.)

When we asked voters about the good things they were hearing about their local schools, they replied that the comments are most frequently about the schools generally, secondarily, about students and teachers. When we asked about the bad things heard, voters told us student behavior ranks first, followed by administration of the schools and buildings and facilities. National criticisms read by voters in magazines most frequently mention curriculum and segregation, followed by students. The pride voters have in their schools is focused on buildings and facilities, followed by teachers and the schools in general.

Voters who are young and who have children of school age are most favorable in their attitudes toward the schools. These are both important, for if voters are

both young and have children in school the effect is greater than if they possess only one of these characteristics. The most favorable voters, those in the 21-30 age group with children in public schools, are very likely to be recent residents of the community and to have the main wage earner in the family in the categories of clerical or sales and skilled worker. The least favorable voters, those in the 21-30 age group with no children, are likely to be life-long residents of the community and to have the main earner in the professional or technical category.

We would conclude that there is a basic favorable attitude toward education, and that we can describe rather accurately the most favorable voters as those who expect their children to benefit economically and socially from the education they receive. The kind of benefit they want appears to be a capability to compete successfully, outfitted with the skills to work and live within our society.

Whether these rewards from education are sufficient to insure the commitment needed for its support is questionable. It is a question we shall try to answer in the succeeding chapters. At first inspection it would seem that the schools have very little to gain and much to lose from evaluation based on the competitive capability of their pupils. The most optimistic estimate would say half the public are likely supporters on this criterion. More likely, only a small proportion of the voters are satisfied with their own accomplishment in society -- satisfied sufficiently, that is, to commend the schools for their assistance. When we consider that even those satisfied with their own success may feel that they must account for their children's success, then the schools can expect little support from this quarter.

CHAPTER TWO

HOW DOES THE VOTER PARTICIPATE IN SCHOOL AFFAIRS?

We are concerned about a commitment to support public education. We have asked if the values we found among voters for education would assure that support. Now, in addition, we want to question whether these values are stimulating participation in school affairs. For the kind of commitment we are studying is based on working values -- a striving for understanding of the schools and their relation to the community.

It has been stated rather forcefully in the Rockefeller Report (28) that we shall get only the education we value:

Only if we value intellectual excellence shall we have it. . . . The kind of greatness which our society produces over the years ahead will be the kinds of greatness which we inspire, and will have to be securely rooted in our values. (pp. 46-7.)

There is another side to this, however. Values themselves must have nurture. What is unknown is unvalued. What is known badly is evaluated poorly. In the growth of any value there is a need for exploratory participation. The value builds on the satisfactions of the participation, stimulating new levels of participation and, hopefully, a continuing spiral of satisfactions and greater values. In a very real sense, then, the measure of participation is a measure of the value. As we shall see in this chapter, the findings are not encouraging.

We should expect some factors to discourage participation. The dependence for support by education on the children's needs -- rather than on the society's needs -- makes participation seem irrelevant for many voters. Most of the voters who refused to be interviewed said they weren't interested because they had no children. Another factor is the increased distance between school and voter in both the physical and psychological sense. The expanding size of school district populations has widened the gap between, making it that much harder for the voter to come close to his schools. A few communities counteract this by extending the schools -- offering evening classes and joint school-community events. But these are a minority, and the approach they make sometimes distracts attention that should go to the basic problem of supporting the public education needed. Educators have introduced a third factor themselves by emphasizing to their profession the administrator's problem of community control. That is, recent publications have discussed school-community relations as a problem in power structures and conflict (Coleman, 8; Hunter, 17; Pierce, 26). These analyses call for considerable understanding of the community by the administrator, but it is unlikely that his skills in this mode of community relations will further community understanding of the schools. Neither will they add more voter participation in school affairs.

What is the extent of voter participation in school affairs? What forms does the participation take? How does participation relate to knowledge of school matters? What kinds of persons participate in school affairs? These are the specific questions we shall answer in this chapter. Later chapters take up the problem of what conditions bring about more participation -- attributes of the individual, of the family, and of the society.

We have asked of our samples of voters what their direct participation has been in school affairs. The items come from the work of Bush and Deutschmann (4). We have then asked about their indirect participation in school affairs -- participation through talking with family, friends, and neighbors about school matters. Deutschmann (5) suggested five of the items for this group. We added one which asked the voter to compare his own interest in the schools to that of the people he knew. This item's responses correlate highly with answers to the Deutschmann items, so we have called the index based on these responses the voters' communicated interest. The construction and reliability of these two indexes are reported in Appendix B. The two indexes are of course highly related, but we found in our analysis that some persons who are high on one form of participation are low on the other. The differences between these types furnish some valuable clues to several problems in encouraging more participation.

We have related each of the forms of participation to voting behavior in City D at the time of its bond election. We find support for Bush and Deutschmann's conclusion that those most active in school affairs are more likely to favor the schools and to turn out at the polls.

We were also interested in finding out the picture voters had of others and of themselves as persons interested in school affairs. Reference group theory suggests that voters would think of themselves in relation to the schools in such terms as parents, taxpayers, and loyal citizens. That is, they would see such persons as most likely to be interested, and they would base their own behavior on whether or not they considered themselves a member of such a reference group.

Bush and Deutschmann investigated this factor in relation to a financial election and found voters were able to characterize their own behavior in terms of how they expected persons like themselves to act.

As in the previous chapter, we have ascertained the demographic characteristics of voters who participate in the several manners described.

* * * * *

Extent of Participation

Tables 2.1 through 2.4 record the amount of direct participation by voters in four cities. The extent of participation is universally low. It is lowest in City B, the community with the worst school-community relations. We are not prepared to dismiss this as another indication of the relationship. In line with the argument presented at the beginning of this chapter, the lack of participation in City B seems to be in part a cause of the situation. Differences of 4% are statistically significant at the .05 level for comparisons between cities.

Tables 2.5 through 2.10 reemphasize the lack of participation in another mode -- communicated interest. The problem is not simply one of an intervening physical distance between schools and voters. Participation in the form of talking about the schools with family, friends, and neighbors is even lower than direct participation. City B does not fare so badly here, except as shown in Tables 2.9 and 2.10. Again, differences of 4% are significant statistically at the .05 level. The overall lack of participation does not pass without comment. Voters said:

I believe in the 3 R's but I'm not interest in the schools at all.

I am very busy but if anything comes up I find the time to go and see about it.

Table 2.1. Participation in Local School Affairs by Voters in Four Cities:
Attendance at School Functions.*

<u>ATTENDED. . .</u>	CITY:				<u>AVERAGE</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	
Very often	15.0%	14.7%	19.0%	14.2%	15.8%
Pretty often	21.8	22.5	21.1	19.1	21.3
Sometimes	18.5	21.6	20.0	21.6	20.3
Not very often	25.1	20.8	24.1	22.1	23.1
Not at all	19.2	20.4	15.0	21.1	18.7
Don't know	.4	---	.8	1.9	.8
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "Since completing your education, how often have you visited public schools or attended school functions?"

Table 2.2. Participation in Local School Affairs by Voters in Four Cities:
Attendance at School Meetings.*

<u>ATTENDED. . .</u>	CITY:				<u>AVERAGE</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	
Very often	12.5%	9.2%	18.9%	10.5%	13.0%
Pretty often	14.1	7.6	15.1	14.5	12.7
Sometimes	12.6	13.0	12.4	11.1	12.4
Not very often	18.0	17.1	14.4	14.5	16.1
Not at all	42.4	53.0	38.9	48.6	45.4
Don't know	.4	.1	.3	.8	.4
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "How often have you attended meetings of school organizations like the PTA?"

Table 2.3. Participation in Local School Affairs by Voters in Four Cities:
Talking with School Personnel.*

TALKED. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Very often	10.4%	9.4%	11.7%	13.7%	11.1%
Pretty often	15.4	15.0	13.6	12.5	14.2
Sometimes	19.0	17.5	18.0	25.6	19.6
Not very often	16.1	15.6	13.0	17.5	15.4
Not at all	38.7	42.5	42.7	29.8	39.1
Don't know	.4	---	1.0	.9	.6
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "How often have you talked by phone or in person with a school official or teacher?"

Table 2.4. Participation in Local School Affairs by Voters in Four Cities:
Thinking about School Matters.*

THOUGHT. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Very often	23.4%	23.3%	28.7%	33.9%	26.8%
Pretty often	29.2	26.0	27.6	22.6	26.7
Sometimes	19.6	21.1	21.3	26.3	21.8
Not very often	17.4	17.9	11.7	8.3	14.2
Not at all	9.9	11.4	9.8	7.8	9.8
Don't know	.5	.3	.9	1.1	.7
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "How often in the past year have matters concerning the schools crossed your mind?"

Table 2.5. Communicated Interest in Local School Affairs by Voters in Four Cities:
Talking with Neighbor.*

TALKED WITH NEIGHBOR. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Not at all	19.4%	19.4%	18.0%	20.1%	19.2%
Not very often	28.5	22.8	23.0	22.6	24.4
Sometimes	21.0	19.7	20.0	22.1	20.6
Pretty often	21.0	23.1	21.9	18.4	21.3
Very often	9.9	14.9	15.9	16.0	14.0
Don't know	.2	.1	1.2	.8	.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "How often have you talked about the local schools recently with a neighbor?"

Table 2.6. Communicated Interest in Local School Affairs by Voters in Four Cities:
Talking about Local Problems.*

TALKED ABOUT PROBLEMS. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Not at all	17.5%	26.0%	24.4%	23.3%	22.7%
Not very often	24.9	20.2	20.5	12.5	20.1
Sometimes	24.9	22.6	22.5	24.8	23.6
Pretty often	21.3	19.7	18.3	19.2	19.7
Very often	11.0	11.2	12.9	19.1	13.1
Don't know	.4	.3	1.4	1.1	.8
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "How often can you recall talking to someone recently about some problem in the local schools?"

Table 2.7. Communicated Interest in Local School Affairs by Voters in Four Cities:
Suggested Something Be Read.*

SUGGESTED SOMETHING. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Not at all	46.2%	58.1%	51.9%	46.9%	51.0%
Not very often	15.0	12.0	7.9	10.6	11.4
Sometimes	21.6	16.3	21.6	23.4	20.5
Pretty often	11.3	9.2	11.2	8.4	10.2
Very often	5.1	3.9	5.9	9.8	5.9
Don't know	.8	.5	1.5	.9	1.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "Have you read something about the local schools recently which you suggested that a friend or member of the family read?"

Table 2.8. Communicated Interest in Local School Affairs by Voters in Four Cities:
Criticizing Local Schools.*

CRITICIZED SCHOOLS. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Not at all	46.9%	46.4%	58.4%	45.9%	49.6%
Not very often	14.6	14.5	10.7	15.5	13.7
Sometimes	24.6	25.2	20.5	24.3	23.6
Pretty often	9.0	8.7	5.9	7.8	7.8
Very often	4.1	5.2	3.5	5.1	4.4
Don't know	.8	---	1.0	1.4	.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "Can you recall criticizing anything lately that the schools did -- or didn't do?"

Table 2.9. Communicated Interest in Local School Affairs by Voters in Four Cities: Comparing Schools.*

COMPARED SCHOOLS. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Not at all	27.2%	24.9%	33.7%	30.0%	28.9%
Not very often	22.1	16.9	16.4	20.9	18.9
Sometimes	24.4	24.4	23.5	27.0	24.6
Pretty often	15.7	22.7	16.6	13.3	17.4
Very often	9.2	10.7	8.8	7.4	9.2
Don't know	1.4	.4	1.0	1.4	1.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "How often have you discussed with a friend or a member of your family how the local schools compare with other school systems?"

Table 2.10. Communicated Interest in Local School Affairs by Voters in Four Cities: Own Interest Compared to Average.*

OWN INTEREST IS. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Higher than average	25.1%	25.0%	24.5%	29.8%	25.8%
Same as average	64.3	56.6	64.4	57.5	61.0
Lower than average	9.8	17.5	10.0	10.5	12.0
Don't know	.8	.9	1.1	2.2	1.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "How interested in the local schools would you say you are, compared to the average person you know? Would you say your interest is more, less, or about the same as the average person's?"

Parental participation is extremely necessary to the child's progress and scholastic attitude.

Several voters were outspoken in their criticisms of the general lack of interest among voters:

Parents show a lack of interest; they feel their child can do no wrong. I have teacher friends who say they send notes home and parents often don't pay any attention.

I only wish that people would make it their business to be well-informed about schools in all their phases, and go about improvements and changes in the right way, so that schools and the community are working together.

• • • • •

Participation and Voting

Tables 2.11 and 2.12 show the relationship of the two forms of participation to voting preference and voting likelihood. A correlation of .12 is significant at the .05 level.

In Table 2.11 both forms of participation are shown significantly related to voting "yes" in the bond election, measured before and after the election. The attrition that struck attitudinal indexes was not so severe on forms of participation. In Table 2.12 there is a high and stable relationship between forms of participation and likelihood of voting.

Table 2.13 shows a very high relationship between the two forms of participation. Voters who tend toward high direct participation also have greater amounts of communicated interest. There are, however, many voters who are high on one index and low on the other. In one case we have voters who participate directly but who have restricted communicated interest; then there are voters with high communicated interest who show little direct participation. These two

categories are given special attention in this and later chapters.

• • • • •

Table 2.11. Saliency of Two Forms of Participation to Voting Preference Before and After a Bond Election in City D. *

<u>FORM OF PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>SALIENCY INDEX:**</u>	
	<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>
Direct participation	.16	.21
Communicated interest	.30	.18

* See Appendix B for indexes of two forms and measure of voting preference.

**The Saliency Index is a coefficient of correlation, K' .

Table 2.12. Saliency of Two Forms of Participation to Voting Likelihood Before and After a Bond Election in City D. *

<u>FORM OF PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>SALIENCY INDEX:**</u>	
	<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>
Direct participation	.36	.37
Communicated interest	.52	.37

* See Appendix B for indexes of two forms and measure of voting likelihood.

**The Saliency Index is a coefficient of correlation, K' .

Table 2.13. Communicated Interest in School Affairs by Level of Direct Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

<u>DIRECT PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>COMMUNICATED INTEREST:</u>			
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Low (N= 1039)	62.5%	28.5	10.0	100.0%
Medium (N= 633)	24.5%	34.6	40.9	100.0%
High (N= 952)	15.9%	35.6	48.5	100.0%

* Indexes are the same for all three cities. See Appendix B. Voters from three cities are combined.

Knowledge of Schools

Figures 2.1 and 2.2 record the voters' responses of "don't know" to our questions about the performance of 21 tasks and 21 curricular and service areas in education. Overshadowing even the differences among areas is the difference between City B and the other two cities. A difference of 4% would be significant at the .05 level; some of the differences in these tables reach 20%. City B voters are in relative isolation from the performance of their schools.

Least known are performance on knowledge of the local region, knowledge of budgeting and the use of money and property, knowledge of the world, knowledge of occupational opportunities, and the emotional stability of pupils. The task performances best known are the 3 R's, the ability to live and work with others, pupils being well informed, loyalty to the United States, and learning a sense of right and wrong. Although the cities vary in the amount of knowledge they possess about performances, the rank correlation in their orderings is .97. Voters feel they know the most about the same things and the least about the same things.

Among the curricular and service areas, the least known are psychological guidance, vocational education for industry, industrial arts, vocational education for business, and foreign languages. The voters feel they know the performances pretty well on the language arts, arithmetic and mathematics, recreation, physical education, and the social studies. The rank correlation for rankings among cities is .99.

The picture on voter participation grows bleaker still. We found in City E that only 1% of the voters could name their local superintendents and two board members

FIGURE 2.1. Responses of "Don't Know" by Voters in Three Cities on Performance of 21 Tasks of Education.

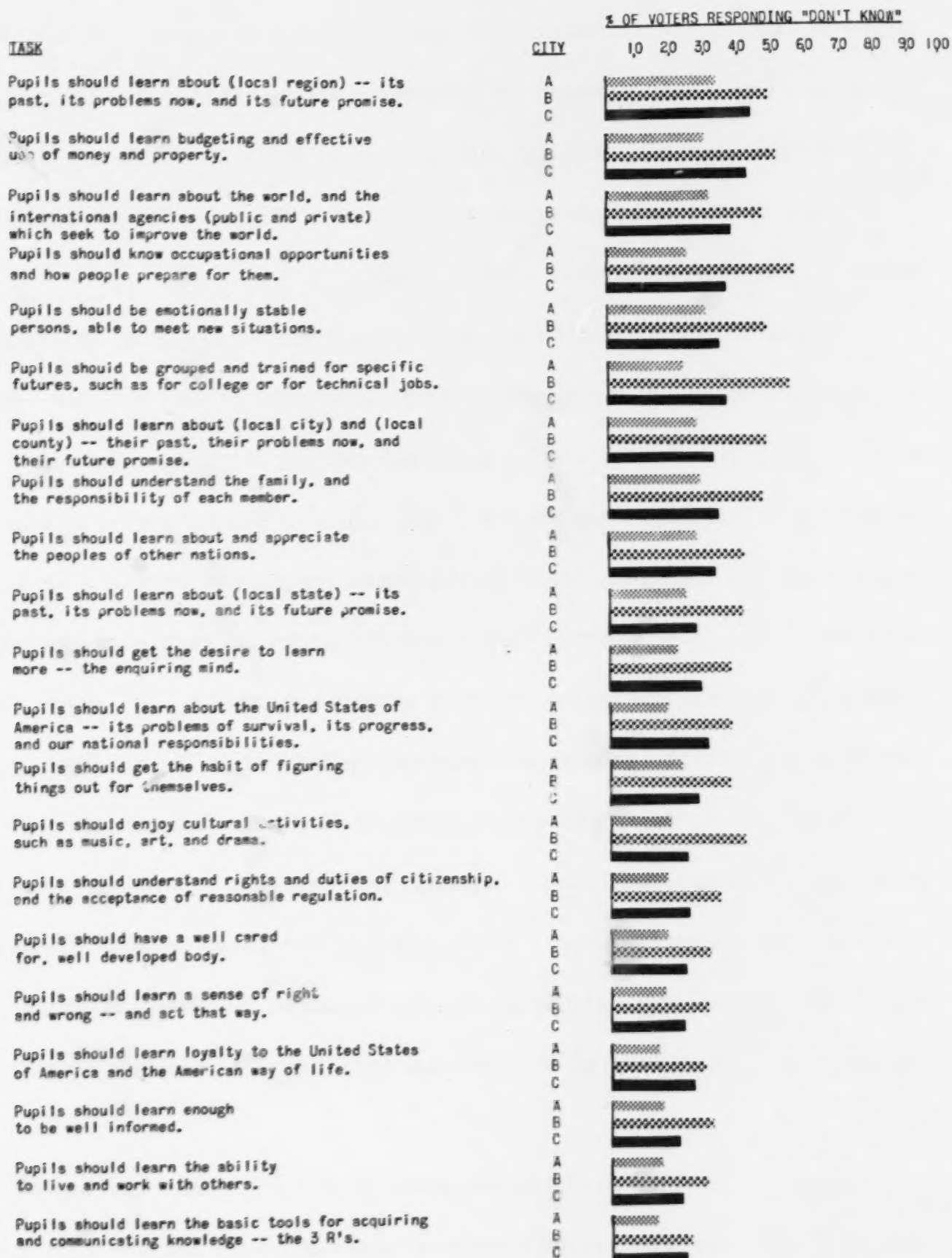
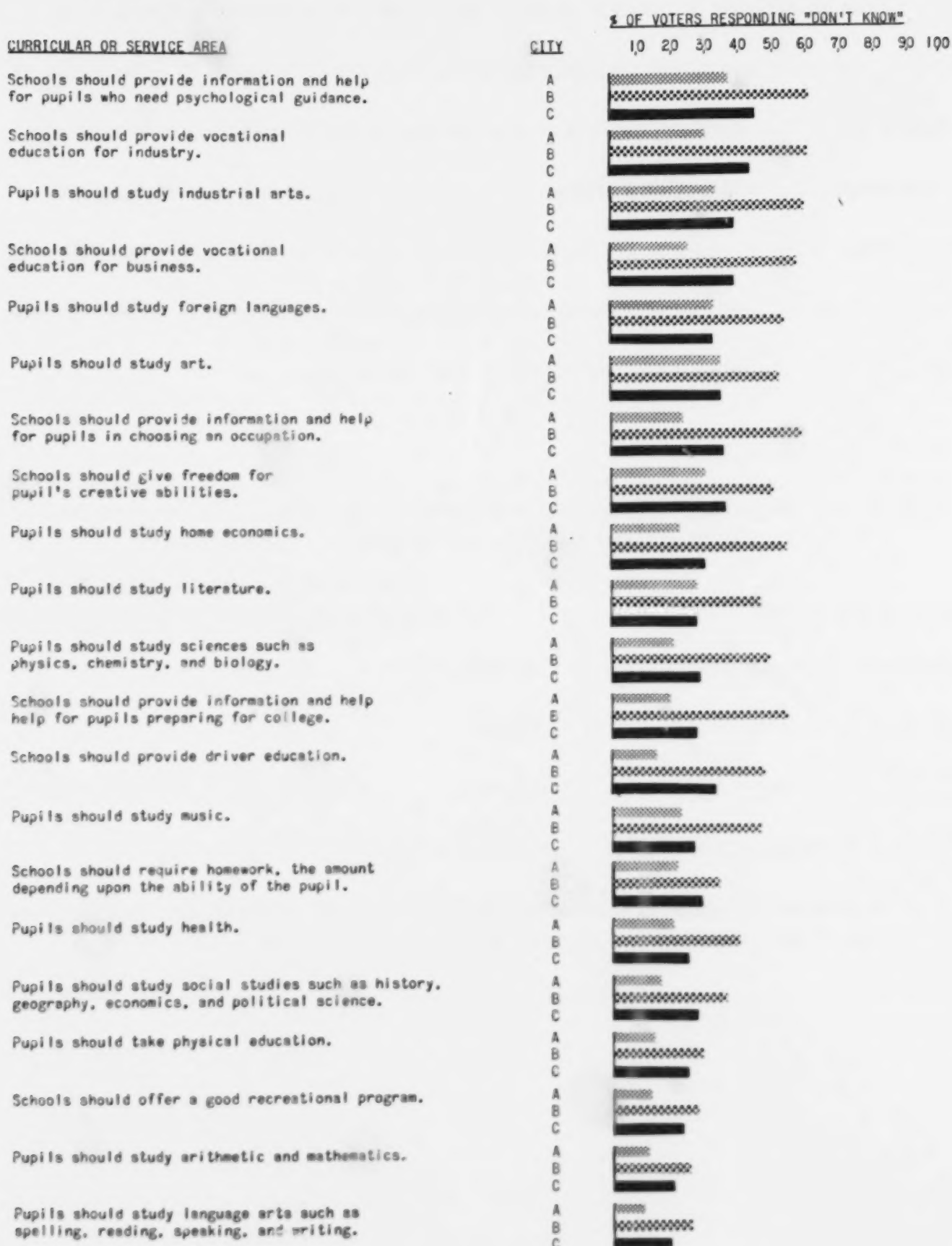


FIGURE 2.2. Responses of "Don't Know" by Voters in Three Cities on Performance of 21 Curricular and Service Areas in Education.



from each of the elementary and high school districts. Some 58% knew none at all.

That knowledge is itself a mode of participation is shown in Table 2.14.

Averaging over the 42 areas represented in Figures 2.1 and 2.2, responses of "don't know" correspond closely to the amount of participation. In terms of knowledge, the distinction between forms of participation is not critical; the important differences are between no participation and some participation -- of whatever form, and between some participation and participation in both forms. These two differences are significant at the .05 level.

* * * * *

Table 2.14. Knowledge of School Performances On Tasks, Curriculum, and Services by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

<u>FORM OF PARTICIPATION</u>		<u>PROPORTIONS OF VOTERS WHO SAY THEY KNOW PERFORMANCE</u>
Inactive, Uncommunicative	(N=649)	48.9%
Active, Uncommunicative	(N=94)	72.3
Inactive, Communicative	(N=151)	68.9
Active, Communicative	(N=462)	85.6

* Proportions are the averages over 42 areas of task, curriculum, and services. Forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

Who Participate

Since we found out early that the majority of voters do not participate to any extent in school affairs, we asked voters in later interviews who they thought did participate. As Table 2.15 shows, the responses to our questions fall into four large categories and a myriad of miscellaneous perceptions (such as "persons who have nothing better to do," "long-hairs," and "do-gooders"). Parents are most frequently designated. Then come school people, mostly teachers. Community leaders, the civic minded, and the higher education group constitute a third category. The fourth category is one which many believe to be critical in school-community relations: taxpayers and business men. They receive a very small proportion of the nominations here, even though each voter was allowed to give three kinds of persons who would be interested in school affairs. The conclusion we might draw is that voters perceive taxpayers as having an interest in school-community relations -- but not in the schools.

The major difference between cities is in the lesser proportion of City B voters who see school people as interested in school matters. A difference of less than 4% would be significant at the .05 level.

We asked the voters if they considered themselves the same kind of person as those they had just said were most actively interested. The purpose here was to get at their reference groups. That is, when they do consider the possibility of participation, in what role would they go to the schools? As parents? As school people? As civic minded persons? Or, as taxpayers? Some of course would go with several roles. The worried parent might have last month's bills on his mind as well as last month's report card.

Table 2.15. Persons Seen as Interested in School Matters by Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>INTERESTED PERSONS ARE. . .</u>	CITY:			<u>AVERAGE</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	
<u>Parents</u>	<u>34.8%</u>	<u>35.5%</u>	<u>35.0%</u>	<u>35.1%</u>
<u>School People</u>	<u>29.7%</u>	<u>24.4%</u>	<u>32.6%</u>	<u>29.1%</u>
teachers	16.5	13.9	20.0	16.8
students	6.9	2.6	4.0	4.5
administrators	2.6	4.0	4.7	3.8
board members	2.0	1.9	1.1	1.7
others, not specified	1.7	2.0	2.8	2.2
<u>Community leadership</u>	<u>13.9%</u>	<u>12.5%</u>	<u>18.9%</u>	<u>15.2%</u>
community leaders	7.1	6.5	9.9	7.9
civic-minded	4.3	3.6	6.4	4.8
well-educated, intelligent	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.5
<u>Taxpayers, business men</u>	<u>4.4%</u>	<u>3.6%</u>	<u>2.1%</u>	<u>3.4%</u>
taxpayers, home owners	1.3	1.6	.9	1.3
business men	3.1	2.0	1.2	2.1
<u>Others (Miscellaneous)</u>	<u>17.2%</u>	<u>24.0%</u>	<u>11.4%</u>	<u>17.2%</u>
N:**	100.0% (2007)	100.0% (1885)	100.0% (2095)	100.0% (5987)

* In answer to the question: "Would you tell us what three kinds of persons you think take the most active interest in school matters?"

** N is the total number of responses, not including "no response."

In Table 2.16 it is shown that voters who say they are the same kind of person as those they perceive most actively interested in school affairs are likely to see themselves in the role of parent. Secondly, they see themselves in the community leadership category. Voters who say they are not like persons who take the most active interest think that school people themselves are probably the most actively interested. They also perceive the community leadership to be actively interested more often than do voters who see themselves as community leaders. Thus we find the non-participants taking a very distorted view of possible relations between the voter and the schools. They attribute most of the interest to community leadership and school people, seeing only a small likelihood that they will participate in their most probable role -- as parents. The differences reported are significant at the .05 level.

We return now to the forms of participation to see how these relate to voters' perceptions of who is interested in school affairs. From Table 2.13 we derived four categories of participation:

Inactive, uncommunicative -- the apathetic. They don't visit the schools and they don't talk about them. But they account for nearly half the voters we talked to, and since we know most of the voters who refused to be interviewed fall in this category, it is probably safe to estimate that half the voters belong here.

Active, uncommunicative -- they go to the schools and the meetings, particularly the sports events. They are a small category (about 6%) but very vocal; yet they show a low interest level in talking about schools with their family, friends, and neighbors.

Inactive, communicative -- they stay away from the schools and yet show high interest in them, talking about the schools often. About 11% of the voters appear in this category.

Table 2. 16. Those Interested in School Matters as Seen by Voters in Three Cities Who Include or Exclude Themselves.*

INTERESTED PERSONS ARE. . .	INTERESTED PERSONS:	
	Include Self	Exclude Self
Parents	58.9%	20.4%
School People	6.5	42.7
Community leadership	13.2	16.9
Taxpayers, business men	3.2	3.5
Others (Miscellaneous)	18.2	16.5
	100.0%	100.0%
N:**	(2234)	(3753)

* Results for the three cities reported in Table 2. 15 are summarized here, divided by responses to the question: "Do you consider yourself the same kind of person as one of those you just named? Which ones?"

** N is total number of designated persons reported in all three cities.

Active, uncommunicative -- about a third of the voters show relatively high direct participation and interest enough to talk often with their family, friends, and neighbors.

In Table 2. 17, the end columns are the apathetic and the very active. The differences are extremely large. Two-thirds of the active persons see parents as interested in school affairs and consider themselves in that role. Only a third of the apathetic see themselves as parents interested in the schools. Similar differences occur for the roles of school person and community leadership. Over all roles, the very active are two and a half times more likely to see themselves in the role of an interested person. Comparing the active but uncommunicative and the inactive but communicative, we find three differences. The inactive but

communicative are more likely to see themselves in the parent role and they are more likely to see themselves in any role. The active but uncommunicative are more likely to see themselves in the taxpayer role, even more so than the very active. These differences are significant at the .05 level.

Table 2.17. Those Who Include Themselves as Interested in School Matters by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>VOTER IS INTERESTED AS A. . .</u>	FORM OF PARTICIPATION:			
	Inact., Uncomm.	Active, Uncomm.	Inact., Comm.	Active, Comm.
Parent	33.1%	38.3%	67.5%	65.8%
School person	1.5	2.1	5.3	16.0
Community leader	4.9	11.7	11.3	19.3
Taxpayer, business man	2.2	8.5	.7	1.9
Other (Miscellaneous)	10.6	11.7	14.6	21.9
	52.3%**	72.3%	99.4%	124.9%
N:	(649)	(94)	(151)	(462)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The questions on those interested are reported in Tables 2.15 and 2.16. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. The column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of involvement in local schools by each type of participant.

It is already apparent that important differences are to be found among voters according to the form of their participation. A first clue to why the inactive but communicative voters don't participate directly can be found in Table 2.17. If we compare these voters to the very active, we find they are just as likely -- in fact are more likely -- to think of themselves as interested because they are parents.

But they do not so often consider themselves as school persons or as community leaders. We can ask a question now that is answered later in the affirmative: Does the voter who takes the parental role sometimes find embarrassment in participation? As we shall demonstrate in this and later chapters, this particular voter that is interested but doesn't participate directly has a great potential for supporting the schools, yet often feels uncomfortable when trying to do so. As we shall see, there is a real problem in perceived social and intellectual adequacies.

Table 2.18 reports the differences in sex, age, and education for voters in the four forms of participation. The totally inactive draw largest among older persons of low education. The active, uncommunicative voters draw heavily from among the young men -- particularly, the more educated. The inactive, communicative come from two disparate types: the young, low educated female and the old, high educated female. The very active are very likely to be young, high educated females and young, high educated males. The principal differences are significant at the .05 level.

One question is answered and two more are raised by the results in Table 2.18:

The answer to why education was not uniformly related to evaluation of schools is seen in the frequency of older women of high education who are inactive but communicative. We had found more education to relate to less favorable evaluations except among this group. Now we see this group again away from the education trend. Where the other high education groups tend toward one or the other of the active categories, these women show more interest than activity. And, as we shall see in the next chapter, activity is more closely related to criticisms than is interest.

Table 2.18 Sex-Age-Education Characteristics by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>SEX/AGE/EDUCATION</u>	<u>FORM OF PARTICIPATION:</u>			
	<u>Inact.,</u> <u>Uncomm.</u>	<u>Active,</u> <u>Uncomm.</u>	<u>Inact.,</u> <u>Comm.</u>	<u>Active,</u> <u>Comm.</u>
Male-Young-Low	13.3%	14.9%	7.9%	6.3%
Male-Young-High	13.8	38.3	7.9	27.5
Male-Old-Low	17.1	7.4	2.6	1.7
Male-Old-High	6.8	---	3.3	4.3
Female-Young-Low	9.9	5.3	23.9	7.4
Female-Young-High	14.7	26.6	28.6	42.0
Female-Old-Low	15.6	2.2	11.3	2.6
Female-Old-High	6.2	5.3	11.9	5.8
Not ascertained	2.6	---	2.6	2.4
N:	100.0% (649)	100.0% (94)	100.0% (151)	100.0% (462)

* Voters from the three cities are combined. Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above. Forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

The first question raised is: Why should young men be active but not particularly interested in the schools? This question is answered later in the chapter.

The second question is: Why should young women of low education, who are most likely to be parents, appear so frequently in the inactive but communicative category? This question is relevant to the one we posed earlier: Does the voter who takes the parental role sometimes find embarrassment in participation at the schools? It

would appear from this table that one source of embarrassment could well be a lack of education. They might find it unrewarding to engage in discussions of teaching method, financing, and the like. In addition, we received comments of dissatisfaction with the social aspects of participation:

The local PTA is purely a social activity. It collects dues and uses the money to serve cake and coffee -- instead of doing things to help some of the unfortunate youngsters who come to school not properly clothed.

I don't believe in PTA because only socially inclined people go.

The amount and form of participation are related to the child's school status, as shown in Table 2.19. The two communicative categories draw on voters with children in public schools -- whatever their activity levels. The totally inactive come largely from those with no children or those whose children are not of school age. Referring to our earlier discussion of reference groups, voters whose children are in school see themselves as parents; when their children are not of school age, they are fathers and mothers. The active but uncommunicative category has relatively high numbers of voters who have children that are either not of school age or who are in a private school. Therefore, when we see later that this is the category most critical of the schools, three alternative reasons are indicated: that parents whose children have finished school find fault with the product; that parents whose children have not yet started school are apprehensive of the result; and, that parents whose children are in private school prefer this alternative to the public schools. The last of these reasons is commented on frequently:

Parochial schools are better than public schools. Students are better citizens and learn more.

I feel the parochial schools are about a year ahead. The children are more afraid of the nuns.

However:

I think Catholic schools are better in discipline and interest in students. They call home if a student isn't doing the work and see that he does it. In public schools you have to go to them. But then when you have a problem like my son, what can you do? He's been kicked out of parochial schools too.

Differences in child's status by amount of participation and form of participation are significant at the .05 level.

Table 2.19. School Status of Children by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>VOTER HAS. . . .</u>	<u>FORM OF PARTICIPATION:</u>			
	<u>Inact.,</u> <u>Uncomm.</u>	<u>Active,</u> <u>Uncomm.</u>	<u>Inact.,</u> <u>Comm.</u>	<u>Active,</u> <u>Comm.</u>
No children	34.2%	25.5%	10.6%	10.0%
Children, but not in school	47.8	43.6	32.4	19.1
Children, in public school	12.9	18.1	51.7	58.5
Children, in private school	5.1	12.8	5.3	12.4
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:	(649)	(94)	(151)	(462)

* Voters from the three cities are combined. Forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

Extreme length of residence in the community is related to less active participation as shown in Table 2.20, but overall there is little difference. Reference to Table 2.18 immediately suggests that even the slight difference is due to older age rather than length of residence. A check of the first ten years of residence in the community revealed a tendency for amount of participation to increase with length of residence.

Table 2.20. Length of Residence in Community by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>YEARS IN COMMUNITY</u>	FORM OF PARTICIPATION:			
	<u>Inact.,</u> <u>Uncomm.</u>	<u>Active,</u> <u>Uncomm.</u>	<u>Inact.,</u> <u>Comm.</u>	<u>Active,</u> <u>Comm.</u>
0-9	32.2%	36.2%	31.1%	34.7%
10-39	48.1	52.1	53.7	55.5
40 or more	18.9	10.6	15.2	9.6
Not ascertained	.8	1.1	---	.2
N:	100.0% (649)	100.0% (94)	100.0% (151)	100.0% (462)

* Voters from three cities combined. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

Age is undoubtedly responsible for an artifact in Table 2.21, which shows the relationship of form of participation to occupation of the main wage earner in the family. The very inactive include retired and unemployed more often than the other categories.

Table 2.21. Occupation of Main Wage Earner in Family by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	FORM OF PARTICIPATION:			
	<u>Inact.,</u> <u>Uncomm.</u>	<u>Active,</u> <u>Uncomm.</u>	<u>Inact.,</u> <u>Comm.</u>	<u>Active,</u> <u>Comm.</u>
Professional or technical	6.0%	14.9%	12.6%	27.3%
Proprietor or managerial	10.3	10.6	15.9	16.1
Clerical or sales	18.5	12.8	12.6	17.1
Skilled worker	20.6	20.2	23.8	17.4
Semi-skilled worker	10.9	16.0	9.3	7.2
Unskilled worker	11.4	10.6	3.3	5.2
Services	5.4	4.3	13.9	5.4
Retired or unemployed	14.3	7.4	6.6	3.0
Not ascertained	2.6	3.2	2.0	1.3
N:	100.0% (649)	100.0% (94)	100.0% (151)	100.0% (462)

* Voters from the three cities are combined. Forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

Similarly, the high relationship of level of education to occupation accounts for the most active drawing heavily on the professional and technical category. The uncommunicative voters are thus found in the less skilled occupational categories.

The active voter in school affairs is also active in other areas, as shown in Table 2.22. This holds for the communicative aspect of participation, but even more for direct participation in school affairs. The column totals show the very active average better than two times as many activities outside the schools than

Table 2.22. Participation in Non-School Activities by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

NON-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES	FORM OF PARTICIPATION:			
	Inact., Uncomm.	Active, Uncomm.	Inact., Comm.	Active, Comm.
Children's groups	.5%	6.4%	6.0%	17.5%
Public service groups	.9	1.1	4.0	4.3
Public affairs and political groups	1.1	2.1	---	4.1
Professional, labor, or business groups	2.0	9.6	6.6	9.3
Fraternal service groups	6.5	4.3	5.3	13.0
Social groups	9.7	16.0	10.6	29.0
Church or nationality groups	34.7	39.4	66.9	61.3
Sports or hobby groups	23.9	57.4	8.6	33.8
Veterans, military, or patriotic groups	2.9	3.2	---	2.8
Others	2.9	3.2	2.0	5.6
N:	85.1%** (649)	142.7% (94)	110.0% (151)	180.7% (462)

* In answer to the question: "What non-school activities outside the home do you participate in regularly?" Forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13. Voters from the three cities are combined.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. These column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of non-school activities by each form of participation.

the apathetic voters. The active but uncommunicative follow then, averaging more than the inactive but communicative. This would give added credence to our earlier inference that the inactive but communicative in school affairs constitute a group which avoids social activity per se. The activities themselves tell us much about

these participation types. The very inactive are members usually of church and nationality or sports and hobby groups. The great difference between them and the active but uncommunicative is the jump in membership in sports and hobby groups. There is also a near doubling in the proportions of voters in social activities. The inactive but communicative are active in only one area: the church and nationality groups. The picture grows of these voters as a group which avoids many intellectually or socially oriented activities. Note there are none at all in the public affairs and political groups. The very active are . . . well, just very active. Only the active but uncommunicative outstrip them in any activity, and then only in the professional, labor, and business, the sports and hobby, and the veterans, military, and patriotic groups. A pretty good picture of the active but uncommunicative type of participant is also emerging. That this group appears in the next chapter as the most critical among participant types should be no surprise.

* * * * *

Summary and Conclusions

To summarize, we have found the level of participation to be virtually zero for half the voters. About a third of the voters are participating both directly in school activities and in talking over school matters with family, friends, and neighbors. Of the remainder about 11% appear interested and communicative in school matters, but they do not participate directly in school affairs. The last 6% are active in school affairs but do not evince much interest in the schools as reflected in their communicatory activity.

Knowledge of the schools' performances in its tasks, in curricular and

service areas varies widely by topic and by the voter's amount of participation. Performance is least known in the city which has been experiencing difficult school-community relations.

When voters consider in what role they participate in school matters, the most frequent answer is as parents. Non-participants most often attribute interest in school matters to the school personnel. Taxpayers are not seen as a group interested in school matters. They have an interest, we have concluded, but it isn't in the schools. We also found that voters who are active but uncommunicative about school matters were less likely than voters who are inactive but communicative to see themselves as interested in school affairs.

Looking at the various participant types we found:

The inactive are likely to include voters who are older and who have low education levels. They either have no children or their children are not in school. As a consequence of their age and education, they are older residents of the community and they are frequently retired or in the less skilled occupations. Their non-school activities are mostly in church and nationality groups or sports and hobby groups.

The most active are the young, high educated voters, usually with children in public school. They draw heavily among the professional and technical occupation category. They are very active in all non-school activities.

The inactive but communicative are typically young women of low education and old women of high education. They too often have children in public school, although many have children who are not of school age. Their non-school activities center predominantly on church and nationality groups. We have concluded that their lack

of direct participation in school affairs may stem from an avoidance of intellectual or social embarrassment.

The active but uncommunicative are young and high in educational level, and draw most heavily among men. Most frequently their children are not of school age. Their outstanding characteristic is relatively heavy membership in the professional, labor, and business groups, the sports and hobby groups, and the veterans, military, and patriotic groups.

At the beginning of this chapter we stressed the interrelationship of values and participation. Values, we said, are nourished by the satisfactions of participation. Indeed, values without participation would seem empty. It is apparent from the results of our studies that participation and values derive largely from a concern for the child. This leads to values that are latent or even forgotten when the child leaves school, to participation that is devoid of interest when the child is done with school.

In conclusion, we might extend an observation made by Conant (9). He stated that the successful student is a committed student, a student who knows what he is about. It seems equally likely that the successful participant is a committed participant, but it is apparent that the present basis for voter commitment in school affairs is parenthood, and that this is insufficient for the needs of a democratic institution.

CHAPTER THREE

WHO ARE THE CRITICS OF THE SCHOOLS?

Few professions are exposed to as much criticism as is given education. Because everyone has experienced it to some extent, every man is his own expert. But there is another reason which we have seen in the results reported in Chapter One: The schools are expected to give the pupil enough to make his way in the world. This expectation can never be fulfilled universally, and criticism is the daily concomitant of school administration.

In this chapter we shall present our findings on criticisms of the schools, looking principally at the identity of the critics, and in that examination seeing also the objects of criticism and the form of criticism -- that is, whether it is constructive or destructive, informed or ignorant.

We did not start this study with any plan to give special attention to criticisms. However, the implications of criticisms for other facets of school-community relations became so apparent that we have set aside this chapter to report our analyses. The focus moves back and forth from the object of criticism to the source of criticism, revealing the temper of the criticism as well.

Whether the schools can answer all the critics that appear is a question we shall defer. That they must now do so is an accepted fact in many communities. Professional specialists are hired to improve relations with the community,

including, of course, the quieting of critics. These specialists have their own national organization, the National School Public Relations Association, which gives aid and advice to its membership for dealing with critics. The major educational organization, the National Education Association, has published answers that schools can use in refuting current criticisms of education -- its curriculum, its methods, its philosophy, its teachers, and its administration (24).

We shall see soon enough what is criticised and who are the critics.

Ultimately, however, we must know something of why there is criticism. Therefore, in this chapter, we have traced relationships through several factors, searching for the reasons behind the criticisms. We have taken the index for evaluation of the schools from the first chapter and reexamined it in the context of what the voter perceives to be the economic situation. We have considered the voter's decision to support the schools to be a balancing of the schools' value on the one hand and of his own resources on the other. If times are seen as hard and the schools as of little value, we expect less likelihood of support for the schools. When times are seen as good and the schools still of little value, we have a special kind of criticism -- based on high expectations rather than the value of the product for the cost. Given perceptions of hard times and high values for the schools' product, we have a group of voters who, perhaps grudgingly, support the schools. Lastly, there will be voters who see the times as good and the schools as good; they should be satisfied.

We shall be able to tell much about the critics of the schools' performances by examination of their characteristics. But we must know something of this context

too. Are the critics, for instance, those who stand away from the schools and criticise without knowledge? Has the expanding size of school systems put a burden on the administrator to communicate that is beyond his present capability -- as Gross (14) reports school board members complaining? To what extent do critics only see the things that are wrong, as suggested in the work on selective attention to communications by Hovland and his associates (16)?

* * * * *

Utility of Schools

There is a relationship, significant at the .05 level, between evaluation of the schools and perception of the economic situation. Those who see the schools doing a good job tend to be those who see the times as good, as shown in Table 3.1. Voters falling into the four corner categories furnish the "utility" groups which are further analysed in the next tables.

Table 3.1. Utility of Local Schools: Perception of Economic Situation by Evaluation of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>EVALUATION OF SCHOOLS</u>		<u>PERCEPTION OF ECONOMIC SITUATION:</u>			
		<u>Less Favorable</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>More Favorable</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Less Favorable	(N=668)	55.4%	25.3	19.3	100.0%
Medium	(N=1385)	40.5%	33.5	26.0	100.0%
More Favorable	(N=472)	31.1%	34.5	34.4	100.0%

*Voters from the three cities are combined. Indexes for perception of economic situation and evaluation of local schools are given in Appendix B.

Younger persons of high education more often find the times good, whatever their perceptions of the schools, as shown in Table 3.2. However, both men and

Table 3.2. Sex-Age-Education Characteristics by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

SEX/AGE/EDUCATION	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times Poor schools	Good times Poor schools	Poor times Good schools	Good times Good schools
Male-Young-Low	10.8%	3.9%	15.6%	9.9%
Male-Young-High	14.0	32.6	10.9	27.8
Male-Old-Low	10.8	10.1	6.8	7.4
Male-Old-High	8.6	5.4	2.0	8.6
Female-Young-Low	9.7	5.4	21.1	7.4
Female-Young-High	21.6	31.0	26.5	28.4
Female-Old-Low	13.2	5.4	5.4	6.2
Female-Old-High	8.6	5.4	8.2	3.1
Not ascertained	2.7 100.0%	.8 100.0%	3.5 100.0%	1.2 100.0%
N:	(370)	(129)	(147)	(162)

* Voters from the three cities are combined. Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above. Utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

women in this class are more frequent in their disapproval of the schools.

Perceptions of hard times are most frequently found among younger voters of low education. These voters are also more likely to say that the schools are doing a good job. Differences among older voters are not so regular. We have, then, the characteristics of sex, age, and education telling us more about the middle

categories than the end categories. The "grumblers," as we might term those who see the economic situation good but the schools as poor, draw most heavily from the young educated voters. These are persons who criticise the schools because they expect a lot, not because the expense is high. The "hopefuls," as we label those who see the economic situation as poor but the schools as good, come most frequently from among the lower educated young voters. These persons evidently are investing in education, hoping that it will give their children benefits they have not achieved. The differences are significant at the .05 level.

The child's status in school, as shown in Table 3.3, is related significantly at the .05 level to evaluation of the school, but not to a balance between product and resources. Those with children in public school see the schools as good but do not differ significantly in their perception of the economic situation. Conversely, those with no children, with children out of school, or with children in private schools are less likely to place high value on the schools. Differences on perception of the economic situation are not uniform nor large, although those with children do tend to see the economic situation more favorably.

Length of residence in the community relates to the evaluation of the schools if perception of the economic situation is held constant, as shown in Table 3.4. Given a favorable view of the economic situation, there is no difference in length of residence among voters who evaluate the schools one way or the other. But given an unfavorable picture of the economic situation, voters who place a low value on the schools are much more likely to be long-time residents of the

Table 3.3. Child's Status in School by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

VOTER HAS. . .	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times Poor schools	Good times Poor schools	Poor times Good schools	Good times Good schools
No children	24.8%	19.4%	14.3%	15.4%
Children, not in school	46.1	41.1	25.2	32.1
Children, in public school	20.5	30.2	52.4	49.4
Children, in private school	8.6	9.3	8.1	3.1
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(370)	(179)	(147)	(162)

* Voters from the three cities are combined. Utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

Table 3.4. Length of Residence in Community by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times Poor schools	Good times Poor schools	Poor times Good schools	Good times Good schools
0-9 years	23.2%	38.0%	43.5%	38.3%
10-19 years	21.3	17.8	20.4	20.4
20-29 years	15.4	12.4	8.2	11.1
30-39 years	19.9	21.7	15.0	17.9
40 years or more	19.7	10.1	12.9	11.1
Not ascertained	.5	---	---	1.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(371)	(129)	(147)	(162)

* Voters from the three cities are combined. Utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

community. The "hopeful" voters are more often recent residents of the community. This difference is significant at the .05 level. Analysis of the first ten years of residence also shows the "hopefuls" to be the most recent residents.

Occupation, because it is highly related to education, shows a pattern of favorable evaluation of the economic situation in the professional or technical and proprietor or managerial categories, of favorable evaluation of the schools in the clerical or sales, skilled worker, and retired categories. Table 3.5 shows that the "hopeful" voters are more frequently represented among the clerical or sales and skilled workers. The differences are not large, however.

From the results reported in Table 3.6, it would appear that the good things heard about the schools are not explicable entirely in terms of the hypothesis that persons hear what they want to hear. To be sure, the categories totaling the most good things heard are those where the evaluation of the schools is more favorable, but evaluation of the economic situation makes a difference too, as shown in comparison of the first two columns. Given the same unfavorable view of the schools, the more optimistic of the economic situation hear more good things. The differences are significant at the .05 level. The differences in what is heard follow a general trend, except for buildings and facilities, sports, music, and recreation, and special services. The "grumblers" hear these most often.

In terms of bad things heard about the schools, the hypothesis that persons hear what they want to hear seems to hold. As Table 3.7 shows, the voters who are unfavorable toward the schools most often hear bad things said. The most

Table 3.5. Occupation of Main Wage Earner in Family by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities. *

OCCUPATION	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times Poor schools	Good times Poor schools	Poor times Good schools	Good times Good schools
Professional or technical	13.7%	22.5%	11.6%	16.7%
Proprietor or managerial	14.3	19.4	11.6	14.8
Clerical or sales	18.3	16.3	20.4	17.9
Skilled worker	14.6	14.7	20.4	16.0
Semi-skilled worker	9.2	10.9	8.8	11.7
Unskilled worker	9.2	6.2	6.1	11.1
Service	6.7	2.3	10.9	6.8
Retired or unemployed	11.3	4.6	6.8	4.9
Not ascertained	2.7	3.1	3.4	.1
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:	(371)	(129)	(147)	(162)

* Voters from the three cities are combined. Utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

Table 3.6. Good Things Heard about Local Schools by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

GOOD THINGS HEARD ABOUT.	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times	Good times	Poor times	Good times
	Poor schools	Poor schools	Good schools	Good schools
Schools generally	8.1%	11.6%	10.2%	18.5%
How schools are run	5.4	5.4	7.5	6.8
Buildings and facilities	3.0	6.2	4.8	4.9
Students -- conduct and accomplishments	3.8	3.1	8.2	9.3
Teachers	3.2	6.2	6.8	8.0
Teaching methods	1.1	1.6	3.4	4.9
Curriculum	5.1	3.1	1.4	6.2
Sports, music, and recreation	3.2	3.1	3.4	1.9
Other extracurricular activities	.8	1.6	3.4	3.1
Adult education	.8	2.3	2.0	6.2
Special services for students or community	3.5	7.8	2.0	3.7
N:	38.0% ** (370)	52.0% (129)	53.1% (147)	73.5% (162)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on good things heard is reported in Table 1.8. The utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. These column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of good things heard by each type of utility.

Table 3.7. Bad Things Heard about Local Schools by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

BAD THINGS HEARD ABOUT. .	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times	Good times	Poor times	Good times
	Poor schools	Poor schools	Good schools	Good schools
Schools generally	.8%	1.6%	.7%	1.9%
How schools are run	7.6	10.1	6.1	6.2
Buildings and facilities	2.7	2.3	.7	1.9
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	11.3	15.5	5.4	4.9
Teachers	5.7	5.4	4.1	3.1
Teaching methods	4.9	6.2	.7	1.9
Curriculum	5.1	6.2	2.0	.6
Sports, music, and recreation	.5	.8	---	.6
Other extracurricular activities	---	---	.7	1.2
Adult education	---	---	---	---
Special services for students or community	1.1	---	---	---
N:	39.7%** (370)	48.1% (129)	20.4% (147)	22.3% (162)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on bad things heard is reported in Table 1.9. The utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. These column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of bad things heard by each type of utility.

unfavorable comments are heard by the "grumblers," who are optimistic about the economic situation. As we shall see later, this derives from the fact that those who are pessimistic about the schools and the economic situation are least active with respect to school matters (Table 3.16). The aspects of the schools most often heard criticised are the students and how the schools are run.

The same results appear in Table 3.8. The "grumblers" are more likely to read national criticisms of the schools, particularly on curriculum, administration, and frills. Total differences in both tables are significant at the .05 level. The inactivity of the most pessimistic group is more evident in Table 3.8.

Pride in the local schools is more closely attached to evaluation of the schools than it is to perception of the economic situation, as shown in Table 3.9. The column totals do show, however, that within levels of evaluation of the schools the more favorable in viewing the economic situation are more likely to find pride in some aspect of the schools. Differences are significant at the .05 level. The sources of pride differ greatly. The most pessimistic -- that is, the least active -- have more pride in buildings and facilities than groups with greater total amounts of pride. The "grumblers" are relatively high on students, extra-curricular activities, and adult education. The "hopefuls" favor administration and teachers. Those satisfied with both schools and economic situation are relatively high in pride in all areas except administration.

* * * * *

Table 3.8. National Criticisms of Schools Read by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

NATIONAL CRITICISMS READ	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times	Good times	Poor times	Good times
	Poor schools	Poor schools	Good schools	Good schools
Schools generally	2.4%	3.1%	2.7%	2.5%
How schools are run	1.4	9.3	3.4	5.6
Buildings and facilities	5.1	7.0	12.2	5.6
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	6.2	9.3	9.5	8.6
Teachers	4.1	4.7	5.4	8.0
Teaching methods	3.5	8.5	2.0	4.3
Curriculum	11.6	22.5	8.8	16.0
Sports, music, and recreation	.3	.8	.7	1.2
Other extracurricular activities	.3	.8	.7	.6
Adult education	---	---	---	---
Special services for students or community	.5	---	.7	.6
Segregation problem	9.2	7.0	10.9	8.6
Comparison of U.S. schools to Russian and European schools	2.2	3.9	3.4	2.5
Too many frills (not specified under buildings or curriculum)	1.4	7.8	1.4	3.7
N:	48.2%** (370)	84.7% (129)	61.8% (147)	67.8% (162)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on national criticisms read is reported in Table 1.10. The utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. The column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of national criticisms read by each type of utility.

Table 3.9. Pride in Aspects of the Local Schools by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

PROUD OF. . .	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times Poor schools	Good times Poor schools	Poor times Good schools	Good times Good schools
Schools generally	12.4%	16.3%	16.3%	22.2%
How schools are run	8.1	6.2	24.5	11.1
Buildings and facilities	20.8	17.8	17.7	14.8
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	8.4	10.9	7.5	10.5
Teachers	7.0	10.9	19.7	18.5
Teaching methods	2.2	1.6	7.5	4.9
Curriculum	9.5	8.5	10.2	12.3
Sports, music, and recreation	8.6	12.4	10.9	16.0
Other extracurricular activities	1.1	3.9	.7	5.6
Adult education	3.0	10.9	3.4	12.3
Special services for students or community	3.0	2.3	8.8	7.4
N:	84.1%** (370)	101.7% (129)	127.2% (147)	135.6% (162)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on pride is reported in Table 1.11. The utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. The column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of pride in local schools by each type of utility.

The Critics:
Sex, Age, Education

By sex, age, and education characteristics, voters compared in terms of what they want from the schools and what they think they are getting yield a consistent picture. As Table 3.10 shows, the group least often critical is the younger women of low education. The older men of high education are the most often critical of discrepancies. The younger men of high education are critical of knowledge of occupational opportunities, pupils figuring things out for themselves, and of the 3 R's. The young women of high education are concerned about the pupil's emotional stability and his knowledge of the world and of people in other nations. The older voters are concerned about knowledge of the local areas. The young men of low education give weight to the practical aspects of education, but are also interested in the pupil being well informed.

Several inferences appear plausible from these results. The old men of high education, perhaps because they are community leaders, uphold the importance of morality and loyalty. Older voters generally, to whom we may ascribe a conservative position, seem concerned about those things which imply tradition. That the 3 R's do not receive their primary attention can be explained in reference to earlier results. It is the younger persons of high education who have the greatest expectations of the schools, as shown in Table 3.2. Thus it is not unusual that they should emphasize the intellectual fundamentals of education while the older voters emphasize the continuance of valued traditions.

Tests of statistical significance are reported in the tables for Tables 3.10 through 3.15.

Table 3.10. Most Critical and Least Critical Voters by Sex-Age-Education
 Characteristics on 21 Tasks of Education: Discrepancies in Ratings
 of "Very Important" and "Very Well Done."*

TASK	MOST CRITICAL**	LEAST CRITICAL**	DIFFERENCE***
Be grouped and trained for specific futures	YML	OML	<u>12.7</u>
Learn budgeting and use of money and property	YML	OML	8.6
Be well informed	YML	YWL	<u>17.8</u>
Know occupational opportunities	YMH	OML	<u>15.1</u>
Figure things out for themselves	YMH	YWL	<u>28.4</u>
Learn basic tools -- the 3 R's	YMH	OWL	<u>15.7</u>
Learn about city and county	OML	YML	<u>10.0</u>
Learn about local region	OMH	OML	<u>11.8</u>
Get the desire to learn more	OMH	YWL	<u>19.7</u>
Learn to live and work with others	OMH	YWL	<u>20.9</u>
Understand rights and duties of citizenship	OMH	YWL	<u>21.5</u>
Loyalty to the United States	OMH	YWL	<u>20.9</u>
Well developed body	OMH	YWL	<u>13.7</u>
Learn a sense of right and wrong -- and act that way	OMH	YWL	<u>23.4</u>
Enjoy cultural activities	OMH	YWL	<u>12.5</u>
Understand the family and its responsibilities	OMH	YWL	<u>14.1</u>
Learn about the United States	OMH	YWL	<u>23.1</u>
Learn about peoples of other nations	YWH	YWL	<u>16.1</u>
Be emotionally stable persons	YWH	YWL	<u>13.3</u>
Learn about the world	YWH	OWL	<u>16.5</u>
Learn about local state	OWL	YWL	<u>12.1</u>

* Voters from three cities are combined. Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above.

** Key to the entries is:

YML: Young men of low education

YMH: Young men of high education

OML: Old men of low education

OMH: Old men of high education

YWL: Young women of low education

YWH: Young women of high education

OWL: Old women of low education

OWH: Old women of high education

***Column entries underlined are significant at the .05 level or below.

On curriculum and service areas, the critical groups change somewhat in perception of the discrepancies between importance and performance. In Table 3.11, the low education groups are less critical than high education groups with two exceptions: those areas which are often termed frills and in which a low education group is most critical; and, those areas such as creative abilities, art, and foreign languages in which another high education group is most critical. There is still another difference. The low education group least critical is as often the old men of low education as it is the young women of low education.

The practical wants of the young men of low education are more evident in Table 3.11, along with inclinations toward non-intellectual course content and recreation. The young men of high education, who stressed in general tasks the intellectual content of the schools, appear here most critical of sciences, social studies, homework, and the pupil's freedom to use his creative abilities. Their general concern with the fundamentals is taken over in the particular by the old men of high education. The young women of high education are concerned about psychological guidance -- as they were about emotional stability; they give special emphasis to the preparation of pupils for their futures; they also criticise the schools' work in the foreign languages -- as they did the schools' function of teaching pupils about the world and its people.

It seems that we must divide general concern with the fundamentals into two parts: particular concerns with the traditional curriculum and the technical curriculum, the old and the young men of high education emphasizing them respectively.

* * * * *

Table 3. 11. Most Critical and Least Critical Voters by Sex-Age-Education
 Characteristics on 21 Curricular and Service Areas in Education:
 Discrepancies in Ratings of "Very Important" and "Very Well Done. "***

<u>CURRICULAR OR SERVICE AREA</u>	<u>MOST CRITICAL**</u>	<u>LEAST CRITICAL**</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE***</u>
Driver education	YML	YMH	<u>17.3</u>
Vocational education for industry	YML	OML	<u>12.2</u>
Study industrial arts	YML	OMH	<u>4.8</u>
Study health	YML	YWL	<u>9.8</u>
Home economics	YML	OWH	<u>22.4</u>
Recreational program	YML	OWH	<u>7.4</u>
Social studies	YMH	YWL	<u>18.7</u>
Homework	YMH	YWL	<u>11.6</u>
Sciences	YMH	OWL	<u>22.7</u>
Freedom for pupil's creative abilities	YMH	OWH	<u>14.1</u>
Physical education	OML	YWL	<u>8.2</u>
Art****	OMH	YMH	<u>7.4</u>
Music****	OMH	OML	<u>12.3</u>
Literature	OMH	OML	<u>20.5</u>
Language arts -- reading, writing, spelling, speaking	OMH	YWL	<u>22.4</u>
Arithmetic and mathematics	OMH	YWL	<u>17.8</u>
Vocational education for business	YWH	OML	<u>15.6</u>
Help for pupils in choosing an occupation	YWH	OML	<u>20.7</u>
Psychological guidance	YWH	OML	<u>15.1</u>
Help for pupils preparing for college	YWH	OML	<u>24.4</u>
Foreign languages	YWH	OMH	<u>17.6</u>

* Voters from three cities are combined. Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above.

** Key to the entries is:

YML: Young men of low education
YMH: Young men of high education
OML: Old men of low education
OMH: Old men of high education

YWL: Young women of low education
YWH: Young women of high education
OWL: Old women of low education
OWH: Old women of high education

*** Column entries underlined are significant at the .05 level or below.

**** Criticism of art and music is toward overemphasis, rather than lack of emphasis.

The Critics:
Child's School Status

Voters whose children are in public schools are least often critical of the discrepancies between importance and performance on the 21 general tasks of education, as shown in Table 3.12. The differences, although statistically significant, are not as large as those by sex, age, and education. The consistency is impressive, however. Only where differences are insignificant do they fail to appear in the least critical column. The most critical pattern is equally consistent. The fundamentals are seen lacking by voters with children in private schools. The relation to and knowledge of others is emphasized by those without children. Learning budgeting and the use of money and property, the area which overall was perceived most discrepant, does not receive emphasis from any particular group.

In Table 3.13, the voters with children in public school are joined by voters with children in private school in being the least critical of discrepancies between importance and performance on curricular and service areas -- with one broad exception: They are not least critical when the child's preparation for the future is considered. The voters with children in private school are least critical of the extras in the schools, the study of health, home economics, driver education, and recreation. The difference in kinds of fundamentals appears again in Table 3.13. Voters without children emphasize the traditional fundamentals; voters with children in private schools emphasize the technical fundamentals. (It is apparent that this distinction of technical fundamentals rests largely on the areas of science and homework.) There is little difference among groups in assessing psychological guidance, which overall was perceived most discrepant.

* * * * *

Table 3.12. Most Critical and Least Critical Voters by Child's Status in School on 21 Tasks of Education: Discrepancies in Ratings of "Very Important" and "Very Well Done."*

TASK	MOST CRITICAL**	LEAST CRITICAL**	DIFFERENCE***
Learn to live and work with others	NC	CI	<u>16.6</u>
Loyalty to the United States	NC	CI	<u>15.7</u>
Learn about peoples of other nations	NC	CI	<u>14.1</u>
Well developed body	NC	CI	<u>12.5</u>
Learn a sense of right and wrong -- and act that way	NC	CI	<u>10.3</u>
Learn about local city and county	NC	CI	<u>10.7</u>
Learn about local state	NC	CI	<u>15.1</u>
Learn about local region	NC	CI	<u>7.4</u>
Learn about the United States	NC	CI	<u>7.0</u>
Learn about the world	NC	CI	<u>8.6</u>
Understand the family and its responsibilities	CO	CI	<u>10.1</u>
Learn budgeting and the use of money and property	CO	CI	<u>11.8</u>
Know occupational opportunities	CI	NC	<u>3.3</u>
Be grouped and trained for specific futures	CP	CO	<u>5.9</u>
Be well informed	CP	CI	<u>7.9</u>
Learn basic tools -- the 3 R's	CP	CI	<u>8.3</u>
Figure things out for themselves	CP	CI	<u>9.1</u>
Get the desire to learn more	CP	CI	<u>11.0</u>
Understand rights and duties of citizenship	CP	CI	<u>12.9</u>
Be emotionally stable persons	CP	CI	<u>5.6</u>
Enjoy cultural activities	CP	CI	<u>12.7</u>

* Voters from three cities are combined.

** Key to the entries is: NC: No children
CO: Children, not in school
CI: Children, in public schools
CP: Children, in private or parochial schools

*** Column entries underlined are significant at the .05 level or below.

Table 3.13. Most Critical and Least Critical Voters by Child's Status in School on 21 Curricular and Service Areas in Education: Discrepancies in Ratings of "Very Important" and "Very Well Done."*

<u>CURRICULAR OR SERVICE AREA</u>	<u>MOST CRITICAL**</u>	<u>LEAST CRITICAL**</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE***</u>
Help for pupils in choosing an occupation	NC	CO	<u>7.2</u>
Language arts -- reading, writing, spelling, speaking	NC	CI	<u>10.9</u>
Literature	NC	CI	<u>6.6</u>
Arithmetic and mathematics	NC	CI	<u>10.5</u>
Social studies	NC	CI	<u>6.3</u>
Physical education	NC	CI	<u>8.4</u>
Study health	NC	CP	<u>12.3</u>
Home economics	NC	CP	<u>7.9</u>
Driver education	NC	CP	<u>12.2</u>
Study industrial arts	CO	CI	<u>6.1</u>
Freedom for pupil's creative abilities	CO	CI	<u>4.9</u>
Recreational program	CO	CP	<u>13.6</u>
Help for pupils preparing for college	CI	NC	<u>7.2</u>
Art****	CI	CO	<u>9.8</u>
Music:****	CI	CO	<u>9.4</u>
Vocational education for industry	CI	CP	<u>3.8</u>
Vocational education for business	CP	CO	<u>3.9</u>
Psychological guidance	CP	CO	<u>1.3</u>
Homework	CP	CI	<u>14.5</u>
Foreign languages	CP	CI	<u>8.3</u>
Sciences	CP	CI	<u>10.3</u>

* Voters from three cities are combined:

** Key to the entries is: NC: No children
CO: Children, not in school
CI: Children, in public schools
CP: Children, in private or parochial schools

*** Column entries underlined are significant at the .05 level or below.

**** Criticism of art and music is toward overemphasis, rather than lack of emphasis.

The Critics:
Their Participation

Form of participation rather than amount of participation is more important in characterizing the critics of the schools' performances. Table 3.14 shows that direct participation is linked to most of the significant criticisms of the discrepancies between importance and performance of the 21 educational tasks. Yet these are voters who are low on communicated interest. And, in fact, the group least often critical is the high communicated interest group with low direct participation. From the schools' point of view, communicatory activity might be preferable to direct participation as a relationship between school and voter! Reference to Table 2.18 shows the active, uncommunicative voter is frequently a young man of high education, a voter whom we have shown to be disappointed in the schools' ability to meet his expectations.

Form of participation remains highly significant in understanding the criticisms of curriculum and service areas shown in Table 3.15. Particularly on the fundamentals do the active, uncommunicative remain most critical and the inactive, communicative least critical. However, amount of participation also has an impact. On what looks like a frill course or activity, the active, communicative want less emphasis; the inactive, uncommunicative want more emphasis. When communicative voters want more emphasis it is in assistance for the pupil's future choices.

It is clear that the schools have three principal categories of critics on the basis of participation: the inactive, uncommunicative want more in the fringe areas; the active, uncommunicative are dissatisfied with attention to the fundamentals; the inactive, communicative want more in the guidance and vocational areas.

* * * * *

Table 3.14. Most Critical and Least Critical Voters by Form of Participation on 21 Tasks of Education: Discrepancies in Ratings of "Very Important" and "Very Well Done. "**

<u>TASK</u>	<u>MOST CRITICAL**</u>	<u>LEAST CRITICAL**</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE***</u>
Be well informed	I-U	A-U	8.4
Understand the family and its responsibilities	I-U	A-U	7.1
Learn about local city and county	I-U	A-U	6.8
Learn about local region	I-U	A-U	1
Learn about United States	I-U	A-U	7.7
Learn to live and work with others	I-U	I-C	<u>13.0</u>
Loyalty to the United States	I-U	I-C	<u>10.9</u>
Well developed body	I-U	A-C	<u>14.8</u>
Enjoy cultural activities	I-U	A-C	<u>9.9</u>
Learn about local state	I-U	A-C	<u>3.1</u>
Learn basic tools -- the 3 R's	A-U	I-C	<u>13.2</u>
Figure things out for themselves	A-U	I-C	<u>11.0</u>
Understand rights and duties of citizenship	A-U	I-C	<u>9.8</u>
Learn about peoples of other nations	A-U	I-C	<u>9.9</u>
Be emotionally stable persons	A-U	I-C	<u>19.6</u>
Learn a sense of right and wrong -- and act that way	A-U	I-C	<u>12.1</u>
Learn budgeting and use of money and property	A-U	I-C	8.3
Be grouped and trained for specific futures	I-C	A-C	3.8
Get the desire to learn more	A-C	I-C	<u>10.8</u>
Know occupational opportunities	A-C	I-C	<u>6.1</u>
Learn about the world	A-C	I-C	<u>9.8</u>

* Voters from three cities are combined. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

** Key to the entries is: I-U: Inactive, Uncommunicative
A-U: Active, Uncommunicative
I-C: Inactive, Communicative
A-C: Active, Communicative

*** Column entries underlined are significant at the .05 level or below.

Table 3.15. Most Critical and Least Critical Voters by Form of Participation on 21 Curricular and Service Areas in Education: Discrepancies in Ratings of "Very Important" and "Very Well Done. "*"

CURRICULAR OR SERVICE AREA	MOST CRITICAL**	LEAST CRITICAL**	DIFFERENCE***
Freedom for pupil's creative abilities	I-U	I-C	3.5
Physical education	I-U	A-C	<u>19.6</u>
Study health	I-U	A-C	<u>16.9</u>
Study industrial arts	I-U	A-C	<u>10.4</u>
Driver education	I-U	A-C	<u>22.7</u>
Recreational program	I-U	A-C	<u>20.5</u>
Language arts -- reading, writing, spelling, speaking	A-U	I-C	<u>10.0</u>
Arithmetic and mathematics	A-U	I-C	<u>28.4</u>
Sciences	A-U	I-C	<u>23.7</u>
Social studies	A-U	I-C	<u>17.8</u>
Foreign languages	A-U	I-C	<u>16.5</u>
Help for pupils preparing for college	A-U	I-C	<u>7.4</u>
Homework	A-U	I-C	<u>11.5</u>
Literature	A-U	A-C	<u>5.8</u>
Psychological guidance	I-C	I-U	<u>5.9</u>
Vocational education for industry	I-C	A-U	<u>10.3</u>
Home economics	I-C	A-C	<u>13.1</u>
Vocational education for business	I-C	A-C	<u>10.5</u>
Art****	A-C	I-U	<u>11.0</u>
Music****	A-C	I-U	<u>14.2</u>
Help for pupils in choosing an occupation	A-C	I-C	<u>4.8</u>

* Voters from three cities are combined. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

** Key to the entries is:
I-U: Inactive, Uncommunicative
A-U: Active, Uncommunicative
I-C: Inactive, Communicative
A-C: Active, Communicative

*** Column entries underlined are significant at the .05 level.

**** Criticism on art and music is toward overemphasis, rather than lack of emphasis.

Participation and Utility

Form of participation and to a lesser extent the amount of participation are related to the kinds of criticisms that voters have of the schools. As Table 3.16 shows, amount of participation relates also to the utility of the local schools for the voter. The most pessimistic of economic situation and schools are the lowest in participation; the most optimistic of economic situation and schools are the highest in participation. This difference is significant at the .05 level. Holding evaluation of the schools constant, the least likely to participate are those who have a pessimistic view of the economic situation. This finding is supported with a larger sample in Table 3.18. Holding evaluation of the economic situation constant, the least likely to participate are those who have a critical evaluation of the schools, which is also shown in Table 3.17.

Table 3.16. Form of Participation by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

FORM OF PARTICIPATION	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times	Good times	Poor times	Good times
	Poor schools	Poor schools	Good schools	Good schools
Inactive, Uncommunicative	57.5%	35.1%	42.3%	32.0%
Active, Uncommunicative	5.5	13.5	3.8	4.0
Inactive, Communicative	8.7	2.7	14.1	10.7
Active, Communicative	28.3	48.7	39.8	53.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(219)	(74)	(78)	(75)

* Voters from the three cities are combined. Utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1. Forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

Active, uncommunicative persons were very critical of the schools' performances. These persons tended to be young voters of high education. We also found that persons who were optimistic about the economic situation but critical of the schools, whom we called "grumblers," were similarly constituted of young voters with high education. Are these two categories the same? Table 3.16 shows there is some relationship, but not enough to dismiss these voters as one and the same category. We had suggested that the grumblers were critical because they expected too much. The active, uncommunicative voter is frustrated, we conclude, and vents his anger at the schools. The latter inference follows from the incongruence of activity and low communication; there are good reasons why a voter can be communicative but not active (physical disability, overwork, etc.) but it is psychologically inconsistent for a person who is active not to discuss subjects relevant to his activity -- unless that activity is itself engaged in only to release frustrations already gathered. The schools, being the democratic institution closest to the voter, may in this way suffer for the sins of state, national, and international politics -- and from other areas as well. Tables 3.17 and 3.18 show a relationship of form of participation to evaluation of the schools and evaluation of the economic situation. Those who are communicative, whether active or not, are more likely to favor the schools, as shown in Table 3.17. Those who participate directly, whether communicative or not, are more likely to see the economic situation favorably. Thus form as well as amount of participation is related to evaluations of the schools and the economic situation.

* * * * *

Table 3. 17. Evaluation of Local Schools by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

FORM OF PARTICIPATION	EVALUATION OF SCHOOLS:		Totals
	Less Favorable	More Favorable	
Inactive, Uncommunicative (N=649)	60.4%	39.6	100.0%
Active, Uncommunicative (N=94)	59.5%	40.5	100.0%
Inactive, Communicative (N=151)	45.7%	54.3	100.0%
Active, Communicative (N=462)	46.7%	53.3	100.0%

* Voters from three cities are combined. Index for evaluation of local schools is given in Appendix B. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2. 13.

Table 3. 18. Perception of Economic Situation by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

FORM OF PARTICIPATION	PERCEPTION OF ECONOMIC SITUATION:			Totals
	Less Favorable	Medium	More Favorable	
Inactive, Uncommunicative (N=649)	50.3%	31.8	17.9	100.0%
Active, Uncommunicative (N=94)	26.6%	38.3	35.1	100.0%
Inactive, Communicative (N=151)	58.3%	27.2	14.5	100.0%
Active, Communicative (N=462)	34.8%	32.8	32.4	100.0%

* Voters from three cities are combined. Index for perceived economic situation is given in Appendix B. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2. 13.

Participation and Criticisms

In the previous chapter, we described voters who take the various forms of participation by their personal characteristics. In Tables 3.19 through 3.22, their pictures of the schools are reported -- what they hear that is good or bad, what they read of national criticisms, and what they are proud of in their local schools. Several similarities to the "utility" categories emerge.

The active, uncommunicative are like the "grumblers" in their unusual attention to criticisms and in their pride for extracurricular activities, special services, and buildings and facilities. The last two are not endorsed so strongly by the active, uncommunicative, however.

The active, communicative hear more good things about the schools; more often, they have pride in some aspect of the schools than other participation forms. They yield only to the active, uncommunicative in what they hear that is bad, and they read more that is critical. This group of voters is as highly exposed to the schools as were those who saw both schools and economic situation favorably. Comparing the two, however, participation is the more important factor in amount of exposure, whether favorable or unfavorable reactions result.

The relationship between low participation and unfavorable views of both schools and economic situation is reinforced by the consistent position of the apathetic as the least exposed group of voters. This was also the ranking for the most pessimistic group.

The inactive communicative voters, like those who view the economic situation unfavorably but the schools favorably, are low on exposure except when pride is

considered. Then they are second only to the most active. This provides further proof of an earlier statement, that this group is potentially a strong supporter of public education -- whatever their activity and whatever the costs.

The differences among column totals, on which the foregoing analysis is based, are significant at the .05 level.

The activity rather than the communicatory behavior of the voter accounts for more good things heard in Table 3.19. The superiority that the most active group enjoys is widespread, and not attributable to any one or several categories.

Communicatory activity does make some difference when activity is held constant.

Activity is almost wholly responsible for differences in bad things heard. Table 3.20 shows the inactive voters hear little at all that is bad whether they talk frequently with family, friends, and neighbors or not. The active, uncommunicative category hears more bad things about students, teachers, and buildings and facilities in particular, but they also are highest on all but the schools generally, how schools are run, and special services.

Activity is still the most important factor in what is read in national magazines that is critical of the schools, as shown in Table 3.21. On every subject except administration and segregation the most active replace the active, uncommunicative as most exposed. These two groups are still more alike than different in what they read.

Communicatory behavior is the most important factor in the pride that voters have for their schools, as shown in Table 3.22. Activity makes a difference, holding communicatory behavior constant, but not nearly the difference accounted

for by communicatory behavior holding activity constant. The active, uncommunicative have the most pride in extracurricular activities. The inactive, communicative have the most pride in teachers and tie the most active for pride in students. The most active lead elsewhere.

* * * * *

Table 3.19. Good Things Heard about Local Schools by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities.*

GOOD THINGS HEARD ABOUT. . .	FORM OF PARTICIPATION:			
	Inact., Uncomm.	Active, Uncomm.	Inact., Comm.	Active, Comm.
Schools generally	5.2%	8.5%	8.6%	18.6%
How schools are run	2.3	6.4	4.0	8.9
Buildings and facilities	2.2	6.4	2.6	6.1
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	4.5	3.2	4.0	8.7
Teachers	3.4	3.2	4.6	6.3
Teaching methods	.3	---	3.3	3.0
Curriculum	3.2	7.4	4.6	8.9
Sports, music, and recreation	1.5	5.3	.7	5.0
Other extracurricular activities	.8	2.1	.7	4.1
Adult education	.8	3.2	---	5.2
Special services for students or community	1.4	8.5	2.6	5.8
N:	25.6%** (649)	54.2% (94)	35.7% (151)	80.6% (462)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on good things heard is reported in Table 1.8. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. These column totals, therefore, furnish an index of extent of good things heard by each type of participant.

Table 3.20. Bad Things Heard about Local Schools by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

BAD THINGS HEARD ABOUT. . .	FORM OF PARTICIPATION:			
	Inact., Uncomm.	Active, Uncomm.	Inact., Comm.	Active, Comm.
Schools generally	.5%	---	1.3%	2.8%
How schools are run	2.6	12.8	3.3	14.5
Buildings and facilities	1.4	7.4	---	4.3
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	3.2	17.0	6.0	16.5
Teachers	1.1	8.5	1.3	7.6
Teaching methods	.8	9.6	.7	7.1
Curriculum	.5	6.4	.7	5.8
Sports, music, and recreation	---	2.1	---	1.1
Other extracurricular activities	---	3.2	---	.4
Adult education	---	1.1	---	.2
Special services for students or community	.3 10.4%**	---	1.3 14.6%	1.5 61.8%
N:	(649)	(94)	(151)	(462)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on bad things heard is reported in Table 1.9. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. These column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of bad things heard by each type of participant.

Table 3.21. National Criticisms of Schools Read by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities.*

NATIONAL CRITICISM READ ABOUT. .	FORM OF PARTICIPATION:			
	Inact., Uncomm.	Active, Uncomm.	Inact., Comm.	Active, Comm.
Schools generally	1.1%	3.2%	.7%	4.3%
How schools are run	2.0	8.5	2.0	7.6
Buildings and facilities	4.2	9.6	4.0	11.5
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	6.6	8.5	9.9	12.6
Teachers	3.2	4.3	4.0	6.1
Teaching methods	1.4	4.3	4.0	7.1
Curriculum	5.2	22.3	13.2	23.6
Sports, music, and recreation	.3	1.1	---	1.1
Other extracurricular activities	---	1.1	.7	1.5
Adult education	---	---	---	---
Special services for students or community	.8	---	---	.6
Segregation problem	8.3	17.0	9.3	11.3
Comparison of U.S. schools to Russian and European schools	.8	3.2	---	3.2
Too many frills (not specified under buildings or curriculum)	.3	2.1	2.0	6.7
N:	34.2%** (649)	85.2% (94)	49.8% (151)	97.2% (462)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on national criticisms read is reported in Table 1.10. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. The column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of national criticisms read by each type of participant.

Table 3.22. Pride in Aspects of the Local Schools by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

PROUD OF. . .	FORM OF PARTICIPATION:			
	Inact., Uncomm.	Active, Uncomm.	Inact., Comm.	Active, Comm.
Schools generally	11.6%	13.8%	15.9%	17.1%
How schools are run	6.0	9.6	17.9	21.2
Buildings and facilities	18.6	20.2	19.9	24.2
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	6.5	4.3	10.6	10.6
Teachers	7.4	10.6	22.5	18.8
Teaching methods	1.5	2.1	3.3	5.2
Curriculum	5.2	5.3	8.6	14.7
Sports, music, and recreation	8.5	16.0	9.9	12.8
Other extracurricular activities	1.4	3.2	3.3	3.9
Adult education	2.0	8.5	2.6	12.8
Special services for students or community	1.7	4.3	6.0	7.6
N:	70.4%** (649)	97.9% (94)	120.5% (151)	148.9% (462)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on pride is reported in Table 1.11. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. The column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of pride in local schools by each type of participant.

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, we found two broad areas of criticism; within each, several categories of voters appear as critics. The first area is that of the utility of the local schools. The second area is that of school performances in the tasks, curriculum, and services deemed important by the voters.

The utility of the schools was assessed by reviewing evaluations of the schools in the context of evaluations of local economic conditions. Two kinds of critics emerged here: Those who say the schools are poor and who also say the economic situation is poor, and those who say the schools are poor but who say the economic situation is good. The former group are usually older voters without children or whose children are out of school, and who have lived in the community a relatively long time. They are also shown to be apathetic in their school interests. The latter group, whom we have dubbed the "grumblers," are frequently younger voters of high education who are more likely to have children out of school or in private school than in public school, and who are moderately recent residents in the community. They also tend to draw from the professional and technical occupation category. Their most distinctive characteristic is that they hear more bad things about the local schools and read more national criticisms of schools than any of the other utility groups. They are active participants in school activities.

On school performance, older men of high education are concerned about the maintenance of traditional standards, emphasizing morality and loyalty. As do the younger men of high education, they worry about the fundamentals of education,

the 3 R's. However, the young men of high education emphasize science and study, while the old men of high education emphasize behavior and basic skills. Continuing the summary of critics by sex, age, and education, the young women of high education are most concerned about the emotional stability of the pupil, about the pupil's orientation to the larger world about him. The young men of low education want priority given to practical courses for home and industry, but they are also most likely to want more driver education and recreation.

A few words should be said about the least critical group of voters by sex, age, and education. These are the young women of low education. These women are high in their evaluation of the schools, although they see the economic situation darkly; in the previous chapter, we found they were surprisingly inactive in school affairs. It is probable that this group is supporting the schools on expectancy, that they represent what we have called the "hopefuls."

By child's status in school, the critics are most frequently the voters without children and the voters with children in private schools. The voters without children are critical of the traditional areas -- morality and some of the fundamentals. The voters with children in private school are more concerned with the intellectual and emotional development of the pupil, although they base this concern on a groundwork of fundamentals.

When parents of children in public school are the most critical -- which is very infrequent -- it is about the occupational and college opportunities open to the pupil.

In terms of participation, the critical voters are of two kinds: Those who do

not participate at all are most concerned about loyalty to the country and knowledge of their local traditions; in particular, they want the frill courses and programs. There are also those who participate in school activities but who are at the same time relatively uncommunicative about school affairs with family, friends, and neighbors. These active, uncommunicative voters stress the fundamentals. Intellectual preparation and good behavior are what they want for the pupils.

The above two groups have characteristics in common with the two utility groups mentioned earlier in this summary. The inactive voters are likely to be those pessimistic about schools and economic conditions, and they are older, less educated, and long-time residents of the community. The active, uncommunicative are not very likely to be the same persons as the "grumblers" -- those who see the schools as bad but the times as good. Yet they have many of the same characteristics: youth, high education, greatest exposure to negative comments about schools, and particular pride in extracurricular activities of the schools.

We asked three questions at the beginning of this chapter about possible reasons for criticism of the schools. On the basis of the results, our best answers are given below. . . .

Q. Are the critics those who stand away from the schools and criticize without knowledge?

A. Setting aside the problem of what kind of criticism, we can say that the most intensely critical of the schools seem to be those who are very likely to be directly participating in some aspect of the school program. Judging from their sources of pride, however, their participation is likely to be in school activities

such as sports rather than in school policy meetings. On the other hand, those least critical of schools tend to be those who expose themselves to the schools even less. They talk about the schools, but this would appear to be related to their interest not their knowledge. On the basis of exposure to information sources about the schools -- reliability unspecified -- the critics are probably the better informed.

Q. Has the expanding size of school systems put a burden on the administrator to communicate that is beyond his present capability?

A. Unfortunately, we can not answer this question satisfactorily. If we were to judge by the informational stores of the voters, we would surely say "yes." But to be fair, other factors are present which would give the same picture of a great distance psychologically between school and voter. Thus frustration from expectancies based on the child's needs rather than his abilities is a common base for criticism.

Q. To what extent do critics only look for the things that are wrong?

A. Critics are unquestionably more attuned to criticisms, local and national, than are non-critics. Still, they do have positive values toward some aspects of the schools, and with their attention to negative comments there is also a seeking of information generally. These people are worried about their children and their place in a competitive world; quite probably, they are meeting people with similar worries and reading articles aimed at worried parents.

The conclusion could easily be drawn that the schools face an impossible situation, for it is the high education groups which are the most critical and

each year adds to their numbers. But this is not necessarily so. If the evaluations of the voters were based not on the child's competitive capabilities alone, but on more fundamental values for education as an integral part of democracy, the criticisms would be offered in a context of understanding of the schools' role in society. We must conclude that there is not simply a need for stronger values (some of those observed are too strong now!) but for different values.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT ARE THE ROOTS OF GREATER PARTICIPATION?

Understanding is impossible between schools and community without voter participation. A good informational service is a necessary condition, but it is not a sufficient condition. Successful communication, and thereby understanding, is contingent upon an attentive audience. Therefore, when we see the low extent of participation and when we see that existing participation implies worry rather than a desire for understanding, the outlook for meaningful participation is not bright. But given the necessity of obtaining meaningful participation, we can strive to find the roots of such activity. In the next two chapters, this will be our concern. This chapter considers the motives and perceptions of the voter as they affect his participation. In the next chapter we shall consider the part family life plays in school-oriented participation.

Why isn't there more participation? Why do some participate and others stay away? What are the rewards for participation? How does the voter's perception of the usefulness of participation affect his activity? What pressures does the voter feel toward participation? Does the voter feel he is expected to participate? These are some of the questions we shall try to answer in this chapter.

Rosenberg (29) has postulated three classes of reasons why persons do not participate. They are: participation may be threatening to the individual --

in his occupation, in his relations with others, or to his ego; participation may seem futile because of personal inadequacy, the unmanageability of the situation, the discrepancy of reality from the ideal, or because the outcome is already certain; participation may be lacking because there are no spurs to action -- there are no immediate rewards, direct and urgent needs are not satisfied, the situation is abstract and impersonal, or the person lacks a "personal thrust."

These categories can be subsumed under the value-participation-value pattern we introduced in the second chapter. Without values that give impetus to participation, participation is unlikely to occur -- just as the values themselves are likely to go unnurtured without continued participation and rewards from that participation. In this chapter we shall report the rewards which voters experience from their participation. From the previous chapter the major reward would seem to be some sort of satisfaction based on knowledge that the schools are doing -- or trying to do -- a good job of educating pupils according to the needs parents feel are most important. There are other values as well, and they are reported in this chapter along with confirmation of this inference.

But beyond the necessary value to stimulate participation, there is a necessity for the force to carry through -- to bridge the often wide gap between school and voter. In studying participation, therefore, we must consider blocks to participation such as those suggested by Rosenberg. Some of these have received intensive study by previous investigators.

Campbell, Gurin, and Miller (6) found the voter's sense of efficacy influenced his political participation. Controlling for education and other characteristics,

they obtained a consistent relationship between the voter's perception that his participation was meaningful and his level of participation. We have adapted this measure to educational participation and confirmed this relationship. In addition, we have analysed those persons who have discrepant characteristics -- for instance, low efficacy but high participation or high efficacy but low participation.

We saw in the first chapter that values toward education tend to be normative, that voters perceive that they should value education. In this chapter we shall report the sources seen by voters for pressures to value education. As reference group theorists have noted, wherever there are norms for behavior there are also pressures to conform to the norms.

MacLean and Pinna (21) in an Italian commune and Lerner (20) in the Near East discovered that participation was an everwidening circle, growing as the individual exposed himself to more distant stimuli -- through travel, reading, and formal instruction. Of these, the first two are familiar to us in the educational context. We have seen the voter who attends school functions and the voter who reads and talks about the schools. We have not seen any evidence that voters learn about the schools through formal instruction. The everwidening circle of participation is our value-participation-value pattern again. What these observers seem to be saying is that some knowledge or expectancy is necessary to participation. The voter who will participate needs to see a way to participate. This may be simply as a parent, and it is evident from Chapter Two that this is the most frequent role. But the parents may have different roles, and their participation may vary according to whether they see and act the role. Thus we have asked voters about the

respective roles of husband and wife in school affairs and related these perceptions to their characteristics. In the next chapter, we shall show the relationship of these role perceptions to participation.

The analysis which follows looks at conditions for participation in two ways -- those conditions which are enabling and those which are restrictive. Their effects may be similar but they have different implications for corrective measures. The schools, for example, may be able to alter restrictive elements but unable to create stronger values by themselves.

* * * * *

Efficacy of Participation

Table 4.1 collects the data reported elsewhere on the extent of voter involvement in school affairs. It is both heartening and dismal. It is also instructive. It is somewhat reassuring to know that nearly 95% of the voters at least have an idea of who is interested in school affairs, and that over two-thirds of them consider themselves that kind of person. But the proportions of voters actively involved are low. City B, the troubled community, is significantly below average in its voters' pride and above average in its voters' exposure to criticisms, local and national.

As Tables 4.2 through 4.5 show, many voters feel their participation is likely to be fruitless. Over a third say they have little voice in what the schools do (Table 4.2). Nearly half say that voting is the only voice they have in what the schools do (Table 4.3). About a quarter of them feel school officials don't care what voters think (Table 4.4). Over two-fifths think educational policy is so complicated they can't understand it (Table 4.5). Differences of 4% are significant

statistically at the .05 level in comparing cities. However, the uniformity of the sense of inefficacy in all cities is the most striking feature of the tables.

Table 4.1. Summary of Voter Involvement in Three Cities.*

FORM OF INVOLVEMENT	INVOLVEMENT IN CITY:			AVERAGE
	A	B	C	
Has an idea of at least one kind of person who is interested in school matters	92.6%	95.4%	95.7%	94.6%
Considers self the kind of person who is interested in school matters	65.6	66.9	75.9	69.5
Has pride in at least one aspect of local schools	75.3	64.1	76.9	72.2
Has experienced some satisfaction from participation in school affairs	51.8	48.1	50.9	50.3
Has read criticism of schools in national magazine	48.4	52.2	41.7	47.4
Has heard something good about local schools	39.9	34.1	42.0	38.7
Has heard something bad about local schools	28.1	28.3	14.1	23.5
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(2524)

* In answer to questions reported elsewhere -- Tables 2.15, 2.16, 1.11, 4.13, 1.10, 1.8, and 1.9.

Table 4.2. Efficacy of Interest in School Matters as Seen by Voters in Four Cities: General.*

AVERAGE VOTER. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Hasn't much say about what schools do	36.5%	33.6%	40.9%	31.5%	36.0%
Has some say about what schools do	60.0	62.1	56.9	63.1	60.3
Don't know	3.5	4.3	2.2	5.4	3.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "Would you agree or disagree with this statement: People like me don't have much say about what the schools do."

Table 4.3. Efficacy of Interest in School Matters as Seen by Voters in Four Cities: Voting.*

VOTING IS. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
The only voice voters have	49.2%	49.4%	49.4%	47.7%	49.0%
Not the only voice voters have	47.5	47.2	48.0	47.0	47.5
Don't know	3.3	3.4	2.6	5.3	3.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

* In answer to the question: "Would you agree or disagree with this statement: Voting is the only way that people like me have anything to say about how their schools are run."

Table 4.4. Efficacy of Interest in School Matters as Seen by Voters in Four Cities: Officials' Reactions.*

OFFICIALS' REACTION IS. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
They don't care what voters think	24.5%	25.6%	21.1%	26.3%	24.2%
They do care what voters think	69.3	68.5	75.1	68.5	70.5
Don't know	6.2	5.9	3.8	5.2	5.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

- * In answer to the question: "Would you agree or disagree with this statement: I don't think public school officials care much what people like me think."

Table 4.5. Efficacy of Interest in School Matters as Seen by Voters in Four Cities: Complexity of Educational Policy.*

EDUCATIONAL POLICY IS. . .	CITY:				AVERAGE
	A	B	C	D	
Too complicated for voter to understand	45.5%	40.9%	40.9%	46.9%	43.3%
* Not too complicated for voter to understand	50.5	54.5	57.0	46.9	52.6
Don't know	4.0	4.6	2.1	6.2	4.1
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)	(593)	(3117)

- * In answer to the question: "Would you agree or disagree with this statement: Sometimes educational policy seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on."

Voter perceptions of efficacy are related to their actual participation, as shown in Table 4.6. The principal relationship seems to be to the amount of participation, and not to either form of participation. Efficacy also has a rather discontinuous relationship to participation; the major differences occur between no participation and any participation, with a smaller gradient between any participation and full participation.

The relationship of efficacy to the utility of the schools for voters is even larger, as shown in Table 4.7. The relationship is again somewhat discontinuous, with those who see both economic conditions and the schools as poor being very likely to have low levels of efficacy. Just as the lack of either or both forms of participation related to feelings of inefficacy, so does the lack of favorable views on either economic conditions or the schools, or both, relate to feelings of inefficacy. This is not surprising as we observed previously a relationship between utility and participation (Table 3.16). Relationships in Table 4.6 and 4.7 are significant at the .05 level.

As Table 4.8 shows, the presence of low efficacy almost assures a negative view of the schools, whatever the level of participation. Over four-fifths of the voters with feelings of inefficacy take a negative view of the schools and, usually, a pessimistic view of the economic situation as well. It would appear that voters with high participation but low efficacy find the frustrations that we spoke of earlier in connection with the active but uncommunicative voter. The frustrated voter needs to participate, to let off steam; but there is little to indicate that he will find the answers he needs to solve his problems, that is,

Table 4.6. Efficacy of Interest in School Matters by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

EFFICACY OF INTEREST	FORM OF PARTICIPATION:			
	Inact. Uncomm.	Active Uncomm.	Inact. Comm.	Active Comm.
Low	45.3%	29.8%	24.5%	19.9%
Medium	21.9	13.8	19.9	14.5
High	<u>32.8</u> 100.0%	<u>56.4</u> 100.0%	<u>55.6</u> 100.0%	<u>65.6</u> 100.0%
N:	(649)	(94)	(151)	(462)

* Voters from three cities are combined. Index for efficacy of interest in school matters is given in Appendix B. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

Table 4.7. Efficacy of Interest in School Matters by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities. *

EFFICACY OF INTEREST	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times Poor schools	Good times Poor schools	Poor times Good schools	Good times Good schools
Low	54.4%	29.5%	22.4%	10.5%
Medium	17.0	18.6	17.7	10.5
High	<u>28.6</u> 100.0%	<u>51.9</u> 100.0%	<u>59.9</u> 100.0%	<u>79.0</u> 100.0%
N:	(370)	(129)	(147)	(162)

* Voters from three cities are combined. Index for efficacy of interest in school matters is given in Appendix B. The utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

to give him a feeling of efficacy. Under conditions of high efficacy, greater participation relates to a brighter view of economic conditions and, to a lesser extent, of the schools. The relationship in Table 4.8 is significant at the .05 level.

Table 4.8. Utility of Local Schools by Discrepancies in Efficacy and Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

<u>UTILITY OF SCHOOLS</u>	<u>EFFICACY/PARTICIPATION:</u>			
	<u>Low Effic.</u> <u>Low Partic.</u>	<u>High Effic.</u> <u>Low Partic.</u>	<u>Low Effic.</u> <u>High Partic.</u>	<u>High Effic.</u> <u>High Partic.</u>
Poor times, poor schools	69.9%	43.1%	69.7%	20.9%
Good times, poor schools	12.6	12.3	14.0	22.9
Poor times, good schools	10.7	21.5	9.3	22.9
Good times, good schools	6.8	23.1	7.0	33.3
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:	(103)	(65)	(43)	(105)

* Utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1. Efficacy/Participation categories are the extreme entries in Table 4.6.

The composition of the four efficacy-participation categories is quite different by sex, age, and education. Table 4.9 shows the low efficacy, low participation voters to be those with low education, whatever their sex or age. The old voters are most likely to fall in this category if they are of low education. The high efficacy, low participation voters come from two sources, depending on the age level; among young voters this category draws from high education, while among old voters the low education groups are more frequent. Low efficacy, high participation voters are predominantly the young. High efficacy, high participation

voters are very likely to be not only young but of high education.

Holding participation constant, it is clear that efficacy is highly related to education. Among the young voters, those with high education are more often found in the high efficacy categories. Among the old voters, those with low education are more often found in the low efficacy categories. Age too plays its part. Thus, holding participation constant, efficacy is lowest among the old and low education voters, highest among the young and high educated voters.

Holding efficacy constant, participation relates to education and age in the same pattern. Among young voters of high education, the relationship is greater than with efficacy.

The relationships in Table 4.9 are significant at the .05 level.

The child's status in school is much more related to participation by the voter than to his sense of efficacy, as shown in Table 4.10. To be sure, the voters of high efficacy, high participation are most likely to have children in public school, and the voters of low efficacy, low participation are the most likely to have children who are out of school or to have no children at all. But the contribution of efficacy to this relationship is not large. Holding efficacy constant, participation makes very great differences. Holding participation constant, efficacy makes small differences -- the most being about 6% in the category of "children, not in school." The tabled relationship is significant at the .05 level.

Table 4.9. Sex-Age-Education Characteristics by Discrepancies in Efficacy and Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

SEX/AGE/EDUCATION	EFFICACY/PARTICIPATION:			
	Low Effic. Low Partic.	High Effic. Low Partic.	Low Effic. High Partic.	High Effic. High Partic.
Male-Young-Low	14.3%	12.7%	13.0%	4.6%
Male-Young-High	6.1	24.4	19.6	29.7
Male-Old-Low	19.7	9.4	3.3	1.3
Male-Old-High	6.5	5.2	4.3	3.6
Female-Young-Low	11.9	7.0	12.0	6.3
Female-Young-High	9.2	22.5	32.6	45.9
Female-Old-Low	23.1	9.9	4.3	2.3
Female-Old-High	6.1	6.6	9.6	4.6
Not ascertained	3.1	2.3	3.3	1.7
N:	100.0% (294)	100.0% (213)	100.0% (92)	100.0% (303)

* Efficacy/Participation categories are the extreme entries in Table 4.6.

We have an apparent paradox. Participation but not efficacy is closely related to the child and his status in public school (Table 4.10). Participation is also highly related to a sense of efficacy (Table 4.6). Yet efficacy is more highly related to favorable opinions of the schools than is participation (Table 4.8), or child's status in school (Table 3.3). Thus the prevalent notion that parents of children in school are the schools' best friends is not completely accurate.

A possible reason is: Parents participate more, finding specific aspects of the school which touch their frustrations (whatever their origins), and, because some of that participation is not seen as efficacious, the results are sometimes increased frustration. If the schools could draw those voters who find participation efficacious, or if they could instill efficacy among all those who participate, their fortunes would surely improve. The problem is an old one: How can all participate in a way that both school and voter find the experience rewarding? School leaders struggle to find a way to accomodate the curious voter, to use his energies constructively (27). Many school officials, however, practice what seems to the voter a closed door policy. For example, voters told us:

I don't think the top management in our school system cares for inquirers or suggestions.

I do hope that us parents can reach the problems in the schools through this survey. I feel it is not successful to approach any official in person.

I feel the superintendent of the schools should allow a schedule to see any parent at any time.

The basic problem is that of any large organization. The question is: How can participation be carried on meaningfully on something other than an impossible one-to-one school and voter basis? Some voter suggestions along this line are reported in Chapter Six.

Voters with high feelings of efficacy but who are yet low in participation are most likely to be relatively recent residents in the community -- as shown in Table 4.11. As Table 4.12 shows, they are also likely to have occupations of clerical and sales or skilled worker. These are occupational categories which

Table 4.10. Child's Status in School by Discrepancies in Efficacy and Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

CHILD'S STATUS	EFFICACY/PARTICIPATION:			
	Low Effic. Low Partic.	High Effic. Low Partic.	Low Effic. High Partic.	High Effic. High Partic.
No children	35.0%	33.8%	5.5%	10.6%
Children, not in school	50.0	42.7	22.8	18.5
Children, in public school	11.6	16.9	57.6	60.0
Children, in private school	3.4	6.6	14.1	10.9
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(294)	(213)	(92)	(303)

* Efficacy/Participation categories are the extreme entries in Table 4.6.

Table 4.11. Length of Residence in Community by Discrepancies in Efficacy and Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	EFFICACY/PARTICIPATION:			
	Low Effic. Low Partic.	High Effic. Low Partic.	Low Effic. High Partic.	High Effic. High Partic.
0-9 years	23.1%	44.1%	32.6%	35.7%
10-19 years	19.7	14.6	16.8	20.8
20-29 years	8.8	15.0	18.5	14.2
30-39 years	22.1	14.6	20.6	21.1
40 years or more	24.9	11.2	12.0	7.9
Not ascertained	1.4	.5	---	.3
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(294)	(213)	(92)	(303)

* Efficacy/Participation categories are the extreme entries in Table 4.6.

we have seen to be favorable toward the schools (Table 3.5), and recency of residence was also related to favorable views of the schools (Table 3.4). Low efficacy, low participation voters are often older residents of the community, but, as Table 4.9 shows, this is probably because they are the older voters. High efficacy, high participation voters draw heavily among professional and technical occupations, but this too is probably an artifact, due here to the high relationship between education and occupation.

* * * * *

Table 4.12. Occupation of Main Wage Earner in Family by Discrepancies in Efficacy and Participation, for Voters in Three Cities.*

OCCUPATION	EFFICACY/PARTICIPATION:			
	Low Effic. Low Partic.	High Effic. Low Partic.	Low Effic. High Partic.	High Effic. High Partic.
Professional or technical	3.1%	8.4%	17.4%	29.6%
Proprietor or managerial	7.5	15.0	11.9	17.1
Clerical or sales	15.0	23.5	19.6	17.1
Skilled worker	17.7	23.0	17.4	17.4
Semi-skilled worker	12.2	10.8	10.9	6.3
Unskilled worker	15.3	6.6	9.8	3.3
Service	4.8	4.2	6.5	4.9
Retired or unemployed	20.1	8.0	4.3	2.3
Not ascertained	4.3	.5	2.2	2.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(294)	(213)	(92)	(303)

* Efficacy/Participation categories are the extreme entries in Table 4.6.

Satisfactions of Participation

With a few exceptions, the voters in three cities report the same satisfactions received from their participation in school affairs, as shown in Table 4.13. We did not suggest the kinds of satisfactions they might derive from their participation, so the proportions of voters mentioning general satisfaction, increased knowledge, or chance to discuss problems would substantiate an earlier conclusion that much of participation is based on worry and concern, and not on any value for participation per se. In each city, there are voters who say directly that they sought reassurance that the schools are doing all right. There are some who value participation per se; they are satisfied because they have a feeling of having done their duty or because they have given their children the feeling that the parent cares. These latter two categories account for only 10% of the responses, however.

Differences of 6% are significant in comparing cities. In terms of satisfactions, City A is the anomalous community. This very successful school-community relationship has more satisfactions due to increased knowledge, but it also has more satisfactions due to social contacts.

In Table 4.14, the voters differ in their total satisfactions according to category of utility. The major, statistically significant difference is found between those who have unfavorable views of both school and economic conditions and those who have favorable views on one or both. This is unquestionably because the doubly pessimistic voters are those who participate least (Table 3.16). General satisfaction tends to be related to favorable views on the schools rather than to favorable views of economic conditions.

Table 4.13. Satisfaction from Participating in School Affairs as Seen by Voters in Three Cities. *

SATISFACTIONS FROM. . .	CITY:			AVERAGE
	A	B	C	
Increased knowledge about school, students, and program	28.2%	18.9%	18.1%	22.1%
Meeting school people	12.4	18.4	15.5	15.3
Reassurance that schools are doing all right	7.0	7.3	7.9	7.4
Feeling of having done one's duty	4.2	6.1	9.7	6.6
Social contacts	10.3	1.8	.7	4.6
Chance to discuss problems of child and school	4.4	4.8	4.2	4.5
Giving own child feeling that parent cares	2.7	3.6	5.1	3.8
Generally satisfied -- source not specified	29.3	35.0	36.2	33.0
Generally dissatisfied -- source not specified	1.5	4.1	2.6	2.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:**	(520)	(440)	(453)	(1413)

* In answer to the question: "What satisfactions have you received from your participation in school affairs?"

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

Table 4.14. Satisfactions from Participating in School Affairs by Utility of Local Schools, for Voters in Three Cities.*

SATISFACTIONS FROM. . .	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times Poor schools	Good times Poor schools	Poor times Good schools	Good times Goodschools
Increased knowledge about schools, students, and program	6.5%	13.2%	11.6%	17.3%
Meeting school people	5.4	9.3	6.1	13.0
Reassurance that schools are doing all right	2.7	2.3	5.4	7.4
Feeling of having done one's duty	2.2	7.8	2.7	2.5
Social contacts	---	5.4	1.4	6.8
Chance to discuss problems of child and school	.8	5.4	3.4	4.9
Giving own child feeling that parent cares	1.1	1.6	4.8	1.2
Generally satisfied -- source not specified	12.4	14.0	29.2	21.0
Generally dissatisfied ---source not specified	3.5 34.6%**	2.3 61.3%	1.4 66.0%	--- 74.1%
N:	(370)	(129)	(147)	(162)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on satisfaction received is reported in Table 4.13. The utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. The column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of satisfaction received by each type of utility.

The amount of participation and more particularly the form of participation relate highly to satisfactions received, as shown in Table 4.15. It is to be expected that satisfaction would vary with the amount of participation, simply because satisfactions must follow on participation. However, that form of participation should be so important is not so easily foreseen. Nonetheless, holding direct participation constant, the communicative voter has far more likelihood of receiving satisfactions than the uncommunicative voter. Its statistical significance is obvious. Holding communicative behavior constant, direct participation relates to satisfactions also, but not nearly so much.

There is no need to introduce causation here, but it is clearer now why inactive, communicative voters are more favorable toward the schools than active, uncommunicative voters (Table 3.17). It is also interesting to see that active, uncommunicative voters are more likely than others to derive satisfactions from social contacts.

Because efficacy, like communicatory activity, is related to favorable opinions of the schools, we might reasonably expect it to be related to satisfactions received. We do not find a relationship comparable to that enjoyed by communicatory activity, however, as shown in Table 4.16. The relationship is significant at the .05 level, holding participation constant. But the relationship of participation generally to satisfactions, holding efficacy constant, is much larger. The low efficacy, high participation voter is notable for his larger proportion of dissatisfactions, again suggesting some participation ends in frustration -- whatever its origins.

Table 4.15. Satisfactions from Participating in School Affairs by Form of Participation, for Voters in Three Cities. *

SATISFACTIONS FROM. . .	FORM OF PARTICIPATION:			
	Inact., Uncomm.	Active, Uncomm.	Inact., Comm.	Active, Comm.
Increased knowledge about school, students, and program	1.5%	3.2%	12.6%	27.1%
Meeting school people	2.5	4.3	12.6	13.4
Reassurance that schools are doing all right	.9	---	8.6	7.6
Feeling of having done one's duty	.2	---	6.6	11.3
Social contacts	.8	6.4	1.3	3.5
Chance to discuss problems of child and school	.2	1.1	1.3	5.0
Giving own child feeling that parent cares	.6	---	5.3	2.2
Generally satisfied -- source not specified	6.0	9.6	29.1	26.8
Generally dissatisfied -- source not specified	.2	1.1	---	3.2
	12.9%**	25.7%	77.4%	100.1%
N:	(649)	(94)	(151)	(462)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on satisfaction received is reported in Table 4.13. The forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. The column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of satisfaction received by each type of participant.

Table 4.16. Satisfaction from Participating in School Affairs by Discrepancies in Efficacy and Participation, for Voters in Three Cities.*

SATISFACTIONS FROM. . .	EFFICACY/PARTICIPATION:			
	Low Effic. Low Partic.	High Effic. Low Partic.	Low Effic. High Partic.	High Effic. High Partic.
Increased knowledge about schools, students, and program	1.4%	1.4%	19.6%	29.0%
Meeting school people	.7	4.7	7.6	15.5
Reassurance that schools are doing all right	1.0	.9	4.3	8.6
Feeling of having done one's duty	---	.5	7.6	14.2
Social contacts	.3	1.4	3.3	3.6
Chance to discuss problems of child and school	---	.5	4.3	5.6
Giving own child feeling that parent cares	.3	1.4	---	2.6
Generally satisfied -- source not specified	4.1	9.4	26.1	26.7
Generally dissatisfied -- source not specified	---	.5	7.6	1.6
	7.8%**	20.7%	80.4%	107.4%
N:	(294)	(213)	(92)	(303)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on satisfactions received is reported in Table 4.13. The efficacy/participation categories are the extreme entries in Table 4.6.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. The column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of satisfactions received by each efficacy/participation category.

In City E, we asked husbands and wives this same question on satisfactions received. As Table 4.17 shows, the differences are not great. Husbands do differ significantly, at the .05 level, in obtaining satisfactions from a reassurance that schools are doing all right. Overall, wives show more satisfactions received.

* * * * *

Table 4.17. Satisfactions from Participating in School Affairs by Sex, for Voters in City E.*

<u>SATISFACTIONS FROM . . .</u>	<u>SEX:</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Increased knowledge about school, students, and program	20.7%	26.0%
Meeting school people	10.3	16.1
Reassurance that schools are doing all right	14.5	6.6
Feeling of having done one's duty	11.7	8.8
Chance to discuss problems of child and school	5.5	4.5
Giving own child feeling that parent cares	5.2	9.3
Generally satisfied -- source not specified	32.1	28.7
N:**	100.0% (290)	100.0% (442)

* In answer to the question: "What satisfactions have you received from your participation in school affairs?"

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

Pressures To Participate

We also asked husbands and wives in City E about the pressures they felt to be involved in school affairs. As Table 4.18 reports, there are few differences except for a distinct two-step process, wherein school people put pressure on the wife and she in turn applies it to her husband. These differences are significant at the .05 level. The husbands report more pressures than the wives.

Table 4.18. Sources of Perceived Pressures To Be More Involved in School Affairs, for Voters in City E. *

<u>SOURCES OF PERCEIVED PRESSURES</u>	SEX:	
	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>Wives</u>
Self	26.5%	24.5%
Spouse	14.2	1.4
Child	23.2	23.1
PTA, teachers, other school people	14.2	26.6
Friends or neighbors	5.1	9.8
Mass media (newspapers, television, etc.)	.6	.7
Source not ascertained	16.2	13.9
	100.0%	100.0%
N:**	(332)	(286)

* In answer to the question: "Do you feel any pressures on you to be more involved in school affairs? Where does the pressure come from?"

** N is the total number of responses, not including "no response."

Education and youth are the determining factors in who perceives any pressures, as shown in Table 4.19. There is slightly more pressure reported by young males than young females, and a glance at the sources of the pressures quickly shows why. The young males are pressured by their wives but they do not exert similar pressures themselves. The schools do their work on young women of both low and high education. Self-originated pressure appears largely among the young of high education.

In the first chapter we saw the old women of high education break a pattern of more education, more criticism of the schools. They were instead more favorable than old women of low education. Later, in the second chapter, we saw they participated in school affairs relatively more than the general pattern would have predicted. Now, in Table 4.19, they break pattern again. This time they perceive fewer pressures to be involved than could be expected on the basis of the general relationship of education to perceived pressures. Their activity and their support would thus appear to be entirely voluntary. Perhaps they are well served by association with the schools; many probably live alone.

Communicatory activity and, to a lesser extent, direct participation are both related to perception of pressures to be involved in school affairs, as shown in Table 4.20. The active voter is more likely to find these pressures in himself; the inactive, communicative voter is the participation type most likely to feel these pressures from his spouse. The relationships in Table 4.19 and 4.20 are significant at the .05 level.

* * * * *

Table 4.19. Sources of Perceived Pressures To Be More Involved in School Affairs by Sex-Age-Education Characteristics of Voters in City E. *

<u>SEX/AGE/EDUCATION</u>	<u>NO PRESSURE</u>	<u>PRESSURES FROM THESE SOURCES:</u>					<u>Totals</u>
		<u>Self</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Child</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Others</u>	
Male-Young-Low (N=83)	73.9%	6.0	7.2	3.6	3.6	6.1	100.0%
Male-Young-High (N=391)	57.3%	13.5	6.4	10.2	7.2	5.4	100.0%
Male-Old-Low (N=117)	91.4%	2.6	--	.9	1.7	3.4	100.0%
Male-Old-High (N=108)	81.5%	5.6	--	6.5	.9	5.5	100.0%
Female-Young-Low (N=90)	78.9%	2.2	--	5.6	8.9	4.4	100.0%
Female-Young-High (N=451)	65.9%	11.1	--	8.4	10.0	4.6	100.0%
Female-Old-Low (N=62)	88.8%	--	--	3.2	--	8.0	100.0%
Female-Old-High (N=90)	91.1%	2.2	--	3.3	2.2	1.2	100.0%

* Question on perceived pressures is reported in Table 4.18. Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above.

Table 4.20. Sources of Perceived Pressures To Be More Involved in School Affairs by Form of Participation of Voters in City E. *

FORM OF PARTICIPATION	NO PRESSURE	PRESSURES FROM THESE SOURCES:					Totals
		Self	Spouse	Child	Schools	Others	
Inactive, Uncommunicative (N=440)	85.5%	3.4	2.3	3.6	2.0	3.2	100.0%
Active, Uncommunicative (N=69)	68.2%	11.6	1.4	7.2	5.8	5.8	100.0%
Inactive, Communicative (N=53)	56.6%	9.4	9.4	7.6	9.4	7.6	100.0%
Active, Communicative (N=216)	49.1%	13.0	1.9	13.4	14.3	8.3	100.0%

* Question on perceived pressures is reported in Table 4.18. Forms of participation for voters in City E were developed in the manner reported in Table 2.13.

Participation Roles

Both husbands and wives in City E perceive a normative role for their respective participation in school affairs. As Table 4.21 shows, they agree that the wife is expected in most families to take a more active interest in school activities. About a fourth of them say that they expect both to take an equal interest.

Turning to participation in school financial policies, as shown in Table 4.22, both the perceived role and the husband and wife perceptions are different. About half expect both to take an equal interest. However, nearly a fourth of the husbands think they should take the more active interest, while only a sixth of the wives would agree with them. As Table 4.22 shows, when the wives do disagree, they think both should take an equal interest. The differences between husband and wife perceptions in this table are significant at the .05 level.

Table 4.21. Expectation that Husband or Wife Usually is More Interested in School Activities by Sex, for Voters in City E. *

<u>MORE INTERESTED USUALLY ARE. . .</u>	SEX:	
	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>Wives</u>
Husbands	1.2%	1.1%
Wives	59.6	55.0
Both	23.5	24.7
Not interested; not ascertained	<u>15.7</u>	<u>19.2</u>
	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(732)	(732)

* In answer to the question: "Of the people you know, does the husband or the wife usually take the more active interest in school activities?"

Table 4.22. Expectation that Husband or Wife Usually is More Interested in School Financial Policies by Sex, for Voters in City E. *

<u>MORE INTERESTED USUALLY ARE. . .</u>	SEX:	
	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>Wives</u>
Husbands	24.0%	16.3%
Wives	17.7	14.1
Both	43.8	51.7
Not interested; not ascertained	<u>14.5</u>	<u>17.9</u>
	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(732)	(732)

* In answer to the question: "Of the people you know, does the husband or the wife take the more active interest in school financial policies?"

There is relatively little that is consistent in the relationship of sex, age, and education to perception of the first of these two roles. As Table 4.23 shows, young voters of high education are most likely to perceive any role. But in the perception of the wife as the more active in school activities, young males of low or high education most often see this role. Among the women, youth is not the important factor; high education is more determinative, regardless of age -- although age still makes a difference. Those considering both husband and wife to have an equal role are the older among the men. But among the women, low education is the more important variable. The relationship in this table is significant at the .05 level.

Table 4.23. Expectation that Husband or Wife Usually Is More Interested in School Activities by Sex-Age-Education Characteristics of Voters in City E. *

SEX/AGE/EDUCATION	MORE-INTERESTED USUALLY IS:				Totals
	Husband	Wife	Both	Don't Know	
Male-Young-Low (N=83)	2.4%	63.9	19.2	14.5	100.0%
Male-Young-High (N=391)	1.3%	67.3	22.2	9.2	100.0%
Male-Old-Low (N=117)	.8%	47.0	27.4	24.8	100.0%
Male-Old-High (N=108)	.9%	49.1	25.9	24.1	100.0%
Female-Young-Low (N=90)	1.1%	42.2	34.5	20.2	100.0%
Female-Young-High (N=451)	1.3%	62.0	20.4	16.3	100.0%
Female-Old-Low (N=62)	---	35.5%	35.5	29.0	100.0%
Female-Old-High (N=90)	---	51.0%	24.5	24.5	100.0%

* Question on expectations is reported in Table 4.21. Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above.

Consistency returns in Table 4.24. Those who perceive a role for interest in school financial policies are less educated, younger, and female -- the relationships paralleling this order. Those seeing the husband as the more active are more educated, older, and male. The young males are most likely to see the wife as more interested in school financial policies. Among females, there is little difference. Young voters, particularly the women, see both husband and wife in the role. The relationship in this table is significant at the .05 level.

Table 4.24. Expectation that Husband or Wife Usually Is More Interested in School Financial Policies by Sex-Age-Education Characteristics of Voters in City E. *

<u>SEX/AGE/EDUCATION</u>	<u>MORE INTERESTED USUALLY IS:</u>			<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Both</u>		
Male-Young-Low (N=83)	7.2%	25.3	48.2	19.3	100.0%
Male-Young-High (N=391)	27.9%	18.9	44.5	8.7	100.0%
Male-Old-Low (N=117)	15.4%	16.3	44.4	23.9	100.0%
Male-Old-High (N=108)	37.0%	8.4	37.0	17.6	100.0%
Female-Young-Low (N=90)	4.4%	12.2	59.0	24.4	100.0%
Female-Young-High (N=451)	18.6%	15.3	52.8	13.3	100.0%
Female-Old-Low (N=62)	11.3%	11.3	45.2	32.2	100.0%
Female-Old-High (N=90)	23.3%	11.1	45.6	20.0	100.0%

* Question on expectations is reported in Table 4.22. Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above.

Although young voters of high education are the most likely to perceive a distinct role for interest in school activities -- usually for the wife, they are not the most likely to follow the role prescription. Table 4.25 shows that young men of low education and old women of low education are more likely to follow the role prescription. Among both men and women, the low education voters more often follow the role prescription. These differences are significant at the .05 level.

Table 4.25. Proportions of Voters in City E Seeing a Distinct Role for Interest in School Affairs Who Follow the Role Prescription, by Sex-Age-Education Characteristics. *

<u>SEX/AGE/EDUCATION</u>	<u>THOSE FOLLOWING THE ROLE FOR:</u>	
	<u>School Activities</u>	<u>School Finances</u>
Male-Young-Low	94.4% (N=71)	98.5% (N=67)
Male-Young-High	80.0 (N=355)	92.5 (N=357)
Male-Old-Low	79.5 (N=88)	90.0 (N=89)
Male-Old-High	75.6 (N=82)	86.6 (N=89)
Female-Young-Low	81.4 (N=70)	91.2 (N=68)
Female-Young-High	71.1 (N=378)	86.1 (N=391)
Female-Old-Low	88.7 (N=44)	85.7 (N=42)
Female-Old-High	73.5 (N=68)	90.7 (N=72)

* Questions on perception of roles are reported in Tables 4.21 and 4.22. In addition, respondents were asked: "Is this how it is in your family?" Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above.

Except among older females, low education voters are more likely to follow the role prescription for interest in school financial policies. Older women of high education are more likely to follow the prescription than those of low education. The sample sizes here are small, however. Overall, the role prescription for interest in school financial policies is followed more than the role prescription for interest in school activities. Differences by sex, age, and education are not so great in the former role behavior.

Amount of participation rather than form of participation relates to perception of any role for interest in school activities, as shown in Table 4.26. The difference is large, and significant at the .05 level. Form of participation makes a difference in who is seen as playing the role, however. Active voters, whether communicative or not, are more likely to see the wife in this role. To a lesser extent, communicative voters are more likely to see both in the role when direct participation is held constant.

There are some changes when the role of interest in school financial policies is considered. As Table 4.27 shows, amount of participation still is the more important factor in the likelihood that any role is perceived. Where the communicative voter is more likely to see both in the school activities role, the active voter -- whether communicative or not -- is more likely to see both in the school financial policies role. The communicatory activity of the voter is now more important in determining the likelihood of who sees the husband as the more interested in school financial policies. The inactive voter is slightly more likely to see the wife in this role. The principal relationships in this table are significant at the .05 level.

Table 4.26. Expectation that Husband or Wife Usually Is More Interested in School Activities by Form of Participation of Voters in City E. *

<u>FORM OF PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>MORE INTERESTED USUALLY:</u>			<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Both</u>		
Inactive, Uncommunicative (N=440)	.9%	49.1	18.6	31.4	100.0%
Active, Uncommunicative (N=69)	1.4%	63.8	23.2	11.6	100.0%
Inactive, Communicative (N=53)	1.9%	56.6	30.2	11.3	100.0%
Active, Communicative (N=216)	1.9%	67.1	26.4	4.6	100.0%

* Question on expectations is reported in Table 4.21. Forms of participation for voters in City E were developed in the manner reported in Table 2.13.

Table 4.27. Expectation that Husband or Wife Usually Is More Interested in School Financial Policies by Form of Participation of Voters in City E. *

<u>FORM OF PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>MORE INTERESTED USUALLY:</u>			<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Both</u>		
Inactive, Uncommunicative (N=440)	13.2%	16.6	41.8	28.4	100.0%
Active, Uncommunicative (N=69)	15.9%	11.6	62.3	10.2	100.0%
Inactive, Communicative (N=53)	26.4%	17.0	51.0	5.6	100.0%
Active, Communicative (N=216)	25.9%	13.4	55.6	5.1	100.0%

* Question on expectations is reported in Table 4.22. Forms of participation for voters in City E were developed in the manner reported in Table 2.13.

Amount of participation, as we have seen, is important in the voter's perception of a role to play in school affairs. The reverse can also be hypothesized: Perception of some role is related to the likelihood of participation. The effect of following the role prescription for participation is taken up in the next chapter.

As Table 4.28 shows, the likelihood that either role will be followed decreases as the amount of participation increases. These relationships are significant at the .05 level. The previous finding that the role for interest in school finances is more often followed is obvious again, and the uncommunicative voters are largely responsible for the difference.

* * * * *

Table 4.28. Proportions of Voters in City E Seeing a Distinct Role for Interest in School Affairs Who Follow the Role Prescription, by Form of Participation.*

<u>FORM OF PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>THOSE FOLLOWING THE ROLE FOR:</u>	
	<u>School Activities</u>	<u>School Finances</u>
Inactive, Uncommunicative	87.4% (N=302)	93.0% (N=315)
Active, Uncommunicative	75.5 (N=61)	95.2 (N=62)
Inactive, Communicative	78.7 (N=47)	82.0 (N=50)
Active, Communicative	65.5 (N=206)	83.9 (N=205)

* Questions on perception of roles are reported in Tables 4.21, 4.22, and 4.25. Forms of participation for voters in City E were developed in the manner reported in Table 2.13.

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, we have found that many voters -- varying from a fourth to a half -- have little sense of any efficacy in their relationship to the schools. They despair of their own ability to do anything, of the possibility that school officials care what they think, and they find educational policy too complicated for them. Unfortunately for the schools, participation in school affairs is highly related to a sense of efficacy. Perhaps more critical is the fact that opinions of the schools are highly related to a feeling of efficacy. We would conclude then that a high priority must be given the task of convincing the voter that the schools care, that educational policy can be understood, and that his voice does count.

Characteristically, low efficacy voters are in the low education groups. The child's status in school is relatively unimportant when level of participation is held constant. Occupationally, they fall most frequently into the categories of clerical or sales and skilled worker. Because they are usually older voters, they also appear in the retired category.

The satisfactions which voters report receiving from participation emphasize their concern with the child's problems. Only about 10% receive satisfactions from having performed a civic or parental duty. Almost all the dissatisfactions experienced from participation are accounted for by voters with low efficacy but high participation levels. Form of participation is an important factor in achieving satisfactions: Voters who are communicative are more likely than those who are direct participators to experience satisfactions when each is examined holding the other constant. Efficacy alone is not an important factor

in securing satisfactions.

Pressures to be involved in school affairs most often come from the voter himself, then from his child, the schools -- and in the case of husbands only, from the wife. There appears to be a two-step process of pressure: the wife feels pressure from school people, and she in turn applies it to her husband. The perception of any pressure varies according to the age and education characteristics of the voter, the young and high education voter feeling it most. Self-originated pressures also are most common in this voter.

The wife is usually seen as the family member more interested in school activities. Both family members primarily, and the husband secondarily, are seen as interested in school financial policies. Perceptions of these roles are irregularly divergent by sex, age, and education. Participation, however, is regularly associated with seeing a role to be played. Role prescriptions for interest in school financial policies are more often followed than those for interest in school activities. While those who participate see more often a role to be played, they are less likely to follow that role.

In conclusion, we have considered the voter's sense of efficacy, his satisfactions derived from participation, pressures on him to be involved in school affairs, and the roles which he is expected to follow. The sense of efficacy is often missing. The satisfactions rarely promise further participation; they appear just to reassure. The impact of pressures and role behavior on participation is taken up in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

HOW DOES THE FAMILY AFFECT PARTICIPATION?

The voter participates because he has values; he fails to participate either because he has no values that impel him to participate or because he lacks conditions sufficient to translate his values into action. Either the absence of rewards or the presence of blocks may result in no participation. In the family both these factors are very important, for the family is an interaction setting close to the schools' interests. The Rockefeller Report has said:

The most effective educational system can be defeated by a social environment that blunts or destroys aspiration. There can be no striving for excellence without models to inspire emulation. There can be no greatness without the encouragement to ask much of oneself. It is essential for us to understand that the tone of our daily lives profoundly affects the quality of our society and it is essential to recognize that of all factors involved in establishing that tone the family is most important. (p. 19)

As our analysis of voter values and satisfactions has indicated, this injunction may be -- and similar ones evidently have been -- productive of values based on the competitive status of the child in a society characterized by economic divisions. This value brings participation, but it is born of frustration and can breed further frustration.

The schools can not always reward the voter for his interest, so the family must often furnish the reward as well as the stimulus for interest. The family is equally important as a facilitating force in participation. One member's

participation is often contingent on the spouse. Significantly, the kind of interest which we have found to relate to favorable attitudes toward the schools is one that employs communicatory activity with the family members -- as well as with friends and neighbors. Conditions which prevent communicatory activity in the family, about the schools, are therefore likely to be blocks to effective school-voter understanding.

We have been aided in our search for facilitative factors in the husband-wife relationship by the research and theory in social psychology. Festinger, Schacter, and Back (13) found that heterogeneity of characteristics among persons in a housing development meant less communicatory activity. In this study we have looked at the discrepancies in age and education for husband-wife pairs to see if similar results would appear. Summarizing small group research on communicatory activity, Newcomb (25) sees a consistent trend toward more communicatory activity when personal relations are more cohesive. Thus we have looked at husband-wife communicatory activity by their agreement on school matters generally, their opinions on a current bond issue proposal, and their joint participation in non-school activities. In a highly cohesive relationship, some disagreement might well lead to more communicatory activity in efforts to reduce what Festinger calls "cognitive dissonance" in the respective individuals (12). Taking several recent voting situations, we investigated the likelihood that this would be reflected in school related communicatory activity as well.

We hypothesized that families would have developed characteristic forms of interaction, and that their communicatory activity about the schools would differ

according to the form of interaction. While interviewing husbands and wives in City E, our interviewers were instructed to record the manner in which husband and wife went about answering questions directed to them, with one answer expected for both but separate answers accepted. The forms were defined as follows: Discussion -- if the husband and wife talked together before answering; Influence -- if the husband or wife answered for the other without talking between them; Isolate -- if husband and wife consistently give individual opinions and answers to questions. We also asked about their usual means for resolving differences in the family and their usual manner of shopping for important purchases like a car or a house.

Several investigators (Lansing and Kish, 19; Starch, 32) have studied the family's behavior according to what they term the "life cycle." The life cycle is determined by the age of the youngest child and, as this implies, they hypothesize that family interests change as this younger member grows up. We have already reported that voter interest drops off as children leave school. Here we see again this phenomenon. We have also looked at the effect of both parents working, controlling for the life cycle of the family, for after the children have grown up we should expect different consequences in this situation.

Newcomb has said that whatever other factors are important in determining communicatory activity, constraint -- when present -- will make itself felt. We asked the husbands and wives what responsibility they felt as parents to involve themselves in school matters, then related their responses to their communicatory activity.

Many of these variables emerge as important facilitative factors. We have looked at several pairs of these variables to see if they are really different forces. They are. An index of the eight most important variables has been developed to show this independence of forces and to show the impact of these factors as a group on the likelihood of husband-wife communicatory activity about the schools.

In the previous chapter we reported the pressures perceived to be active in school affairs. We also reported the roles which voters perceived to exist for school participation. In this chapter we shall show the effects of these perceptions on participation.

Adams and Romney (2) have set out a number of hypotheses regarding influence relationships between two persons. After reviewing the numbers of influence attempts made, the areas in which influence attempts occur, and the numbers of successful attempts, we have investigated some of their hypotheses. Adams and Romney say, for instance, that successful influencers are probably those who have experienced success in influencing their spouse on other subjects or who have succeeded often in influencing others. They are also likely to have superior informational resources, the authors say. Influence is a two-way street, they point out. If a continuing association is to be maintained, then some times the influence roles will have to change. Thus we have looked to see if those who influence are also those who are influenced.

Many of the relationships in this chapter had been hypothesized prior to collection of the data, so one-tailed significance tests of differences have been used where applicable.

* * * * *

Heterogeneity and Communication

Where husband and wife are discrepant in age, Table 5.1, or in education, Table 5.2, they are less likely to talk about school related topics between them. As Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show, not much difference in age or education is necessary to start this trend. The major differences occur, however, when age differences reach eight years and education differences reach five years. These differences are in the direction hypothesized, and are significant at the .05 level. An examination of these two variables taken together showed that each contributes to the effect, holding the other constant. The Festinger, Schacter, and Back finding for communication in a housing development is confirmed in this setting; there is less communication between persons of dissimilar characteristics, even when they live together.

* * * * *

Table 5.1. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Discrepancy in Age.*

AGE DISCREPANCY		TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
		0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
8-28 years	(N=104)	49.0%	26.0	11.5	13.5	100.0%
4-7 years	(N=206)	37.8%	22.4	24.8	15.0	100.0%
0-3 years	(N=389)	24.7%	30.1	24.4	20.8	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse. The topics were: student behavior, student accomplishments, school building needs, school costs, sports, teacher behavior, special programs or events, quality of teaching, special student services, courses given or needed, and quality of school leadership.

Table 5.2. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Discrepancy in Education.*

EDUCATION DISCREPANCY		TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				
		0	1-3	4-6	7-11	Totals
5-9 years	(N=52)	50.0%	17.3	21.2	11.5	100.0%
1-4 years	(N=417)	32.6%	28.6	21.8	17.0	100.0%
0 years	(N=210)	26.6%	27.2	24.3	21.9	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1).

Cohesion and Communication

Continued agreement between husband and wife on school matters is related to the amount of communicatory activity between them on school affairs, as shown in Table 5.3. The relationship is significant at the .05 level, and is in the direction predicted. As Newcomb said, when two persons have a high level of cohesion, they tend to communicate more in maintenance of their cohesion.

Agreement between husband and wife on one matter, a forthcoming bond issue, is slightly related to the amount of communicatory activity between them, as shown in Table 5.4. This relationship is not significant at the .05 level, although in the predicted direction. When they agreed and both are unfavorable, they are somewhat more likely to go to either of two extremes than when both are favorable, that is, to not talk at all or to talk about more topics.

Two other measures of cohesion are the number of activities that husband and wife engage in together and whether they take separate or joint vacations.

Table 5.3. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' General Level of Agreement on School Affairs. *

LEVEL OF AGREEMENT		TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
		0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
Low	(N=108)	51.9%	25.0	13.9	9.2	100.0%
Medium low	(N=252)	25.4%	31.4	23.8	19.4	100.0%
Medium high	(N=210)	26.2%	28.1	27.6	18.1	100.0%
High	(N=108)	25.0%	25.0	25.0	25.0	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). General level of agreement is the sum of husband and wife responses to the question: "To what extent do you and your (spouse) usually agree on school matters?" The responses were scored: 1 not at all; 2 not very much; 3 sometimes; 4 pretty much; 5 very much. The categories are: low (4-7), medium low (8), medium high (9), and high (10).

Table 5.4. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Opinions about a Proposed Bond Issue. *

OPINIONS ON BOND ISSUE		TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
		0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
Couple disagrees	(N=58)	36.2%	31.0	22.4	10.4	100.0%
Both unfavorable	(N=331)	36.7%	24.3	19.9	19.1	100.0%
Both favorable	(N=315)	28.2%	29.8	24.4	17.6	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). Voters were asked: "If this (\$2,000,000) bond issue were offered to you for a vote at this time, would you vote YES or NO?"

Table 5.5 shows that even one non-school activity engaged in together is likely to relate to more communicatory activity about the schools. This relationship is significant at the .05 level and is in the predicted direction. Similarly, the husband and wife vacation practices relate to their communicatory activity in the predicted direction; those vacationing together -- the large majority -- are more likely to communicate with each other about school matters. The difference is not large enough to be significant, however.

Without ascribing any explanatory power, we can still identify here a sort of "togetherness" factor.

Table 5.5. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Joint Participation in Non-School Activities. *

JOINT PARTICIPATION IN. . .	TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
	0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
No outside activities (N=338)	43.2%	25.8	19.2	11.8	100.0%
One outside activity (N=260)	28.4%	28.8	24.6	18.2	100.0%
Two or more activities (N=134)	17.9%	27.6	23.9	30.6	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). Voters were asked: "What kinds of activities outside the home do you and your (spouse) usually do together?" These answers were cross-checked between spouses, and categorized according to mutual answers.

Table 5.6. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Usual Vacation Procedures. *

USUAL VACATION PROCEDURE		TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
		0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
No vacation taken	(N=28)	57.1%	17.9	17.9	7.1	100.0%
Split vacations	(N=57)	40.3%	33.3	12.3	14.1	100.0%
Vacation together	(N=647)	31.7%	27.1	23.0	18.2	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). Voters were asked: "Does the whole family take their vacation at the same time?"

We had hypothesized, after Festinger, that in cohesive husband-wife pairs a little disagreement would probably increase the communicatory activity between them. Extreme disagreement would tend to cut off communications entirely on controversial subjects; but with some likelihood of mutual adjustment -- and where tempers are not high -- the impetus toward communicatory activity would be higher. Tables 5.7 and 5.8 bear this hypothesis out. Where husband and wife said they agreed except on a "few minor ones," slight disagreement relates to a greater likelihood of communicatory activity about the schools. Those who disagreed for the most part have less communicatory activity than those who agreed in their voting. These results are in the hypothesized direction, but do not reach the .05 level of significance. Had we been able to measure this kind of behavior in a voting context closer to the schools, perhaps we would have found better confirmation for the hypothesis.

* * * * *

Table 5.7. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Referendum Votes in General Election. *

VOTES ON REFERENDA		TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
		0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
Didn't vote	(N=50)	34.0%	28.0	30.0	8.0	100.0%
Voted differently	(N=51)	33.3%	39.2	19.6	7.9	100.0%
Voted the same	(N=485)	34.0%	26.2	21.8	18.0	100.0%
Voted the same except on a "few minor ones"	(N=140)	30.0%	26.5	20.0	23.5	100.0%

- * Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). Voters were asked: "As far as you remember, did you both vote the same way on all the state propositions?"

Table 5.8. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Candidate Votes in General Election. *

VOTES ON CANDIDATES		TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
		0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
Didn't vote	(N=74)	32.4%	28.4	29.8	9.4	100.0%
Voted differently	(N=64)	36.0%	31.3	20.2	12.5	100.0%
Voted the same	(N=345)	33.1%	29.0	20.0	17.9	100.0%
Voted the same except on a "few minor ones"	(N=241)	33.6%	22.8	22.4	21.2	100.0%

- * Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). Voters were asked: "As far as you remember, did you both vote for the same candidates?"

Interaction Form and Communication

Our next hypothesis says that there are characteristic forms of interaction between husband and wife that produce different amounts of communicatory activity on any given subject. Table 5.9 shows that husbands and wives who used a discussion approach to our questions have a greater likelihood of talking about school topics. This relationship is significant at the .05 level. Table 5.10 shows another, more subjective, measure of form of interaction, and it too is related to communicatory activity in the hypothesized direction. It is also significant at the .05 level.

Table 5.9. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Form of Interaction.*

<u>FORM OF INTERACTION</u>		<u>TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:</u>				<u>Totals</u>
		<u>0</u>	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-11</u>	
Influence	(N=88)	47.8%	25.0	14.8	11.4	100.0%
Isolate	(N=209)	36.8%	24.9	23.0	15.3	100.0%
Discussion	(N=407)	29.0%	28.0	24.1	18.9	100.0%

- * Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). Interviewers classified the couples into the three categories, using the following characteristics: Influence -- one person answers for both without any discussion between them; Isolate -- each gives no opinion; they give individual answers to questions/each gives an opinion; they give individual answers to questions; Discussion -- they talk together, then reach a joint decision/they talk together, then give individual answers.

Table 5.10. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Usual Method of Resolving Differences.*

DIFFERENCES RESOLVED BY.		TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
		0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
Never disagree	(N=100)	48.0%	22.0	16.0	14.0	100.0%
Argue it out	(N=32)	40.6%	21.9	25.0	12.5	100.0%
Drop the subject	(N=76)	35.6%	34.3	17.1	13.0	100.0%
One person prevails	(N=138)	31.9%	29.7	23.9	14.5	100.0%
Discuss it	(N=350)	28.6%	25.7	25.1	20.6	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). Voters were asked: "In case of a disagreement between you, how do you generally handle the problem?"

Another measure of husband-wife form of interaction, their usual shopping procedures on major purchases, is related to communicatory activity about the schools in the predicted direction, but in Table 5.11 the relationship does not reach the .05 level of significance.

* * * * *

Life Cycle and Communication

The concept of a life cycle, that the youngest child determines the interests of the family, is related to communicatory activity about the schools as shown in Table 5.12. It makes little difference in terms of parental communicatory activity whether the youngest child is under six or between six and seventeen. There is some overlap; not all parents with the youngest child under six will fail

Table 5.11. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Usual Shopping Procedures. *

USUAL SHOPPING PROCEDURE	TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
	0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
Each shops for self; one shops for both (N=100)	38.0%	26.0	22.0	14.0	100.0%
They discuss purchases between them -- then one or both may shop (N=617)	32.3%	27.9	22.1	17.7	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). Voters were asked: "When you consider a major purchase, such as a car or a house, how do you usually handle the shopping problem between you?"

Table 5.12. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Life Cycle. *

LIFE CYCLE PHASE	TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
	0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
No children (N=95)	61.0%	20.0	11.6	7.4	100.0%
Youngest child over 17 (N=158)	56.3%	29.8	8.2	5.7	100.0%
Youngest child under 6 (N=239)	18.0%	30.2	28.5	23.3	100.0%
Youngest child from 6 to 17 (N=223)	20.2%	25.1	29.6	25.1	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1).

to have one in the older group. Having the youngest child over seventeen is equivalent to having no children at all as far as communicatory activity about the schools is concerned. The relationship is significant at the .05 level.

The effect of both husband and wife working on communicatory activity about the schools varies according to the life cycle of the family. Table 5.13 shows more communicatory activity among families with no children or children over seventeen and where both work; but among families with children under seventeen and where both work, there is less communicatory activity. The relationship is significant at the .05 level.

* * * * *

Table 5.13. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Life Cycle and Work Status.*

LIFE CYCLE/WORK STATUS	TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
	0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
No children or children over 17; husband only works(N=118)	61.1%	27.1	5.9	5.9	100.0%
No children or children over 17; both husband and wife work (N=95)	47.4%	29.5	14.7	8.4	100.0%
Children under 17; husband only works (N=334)	16.2%	29.3	29.9	24.6	100.0%
Children under 17; both husband and wife work (N=117)	23.9%	22.2	29.1	24.8	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1).

Responsibility and Communication

As husband and wife perceive a greater responsibility arising from parenthood, they are more likely to talk about school topics, as shown in Table 5.14. This relationship is significant at the .05 level. This is in line with the "constraint" factor discussed by Newcomb.

* * * * *

Table 5.14. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Perceptions of Parental Responsibility.*

<u>RESPONSIBILITY</u>		<u>TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:</u>				<u>Totals</u>
		<u>0</u>	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-11</u>	
Low	(N=52)	50.0%	32.7	11.5	5.8	100.0%
Medium low	(N=145)	37.2%	26.9	21.4	14.5	100.0%
Medium high	(N=243)	28.8%	30.9	23.5	16.8	100.0%
High	(N=241)	25.3%	24.5	25.3	24.9	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). Perception of responsibility is measured as the sum of responses to the question: "In your opinion, do children bring an added responsibility to parents to be active in school affairs?" Scores were assigned to the responses as follows: 1 not at all; 2 not very much; 3 somewhat; 4 pretty much; 5 very much. Categories are: low (2-5); medium low (6-7); medium high (8-9); high (10).

Combined Effects

In the next four tables, an investigation of the separate effects of the more important husband-wife characteristics is reported. As Table 5.15 shows, both the life cycle and perceived parental responsibility have an effect on the amount of communicatory activity about the schools, holding one and then the other constant. Life cycle appears to have the greater impact.

Table 5.15. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Life Cycle and Perceptions of Parental Responsibility.*

<u>LIFE CYCLE/RESPONSIBILITY</u>	<u>TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:</u>				<u>Totals</u>
	<u>0</u>	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-11</u>	
No children or children over 17; low or medium low on perception of responsibility (N=64)	67.2%	23.4	6.3	3.1	100.0%
No children or children over 17; medium high or high on perception of responsibility (N=161)	51.6%	28.6	11.1	8.7	100.0%
Children under 17; low or medium low on perception of responsibility (N=129)	27.1%	30.2	25.6	17.1	100.0%
Children under 17; medium high or high on perception of responsibility (N=318)	14.5%	27.0	31.1	27.4	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). The measure of responsibility perceived is reported in Table 5.14.

When the age discrepancy between husband and wife and their perception of parental responsibility are partialled out, as in Table 5.16, both have an effect on communicatory activity about the schools. Looking at each with the other held constant, the effects seem to be about equal.

Table 5.16. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Age Discrepancy and Perceptions of Parental Responsibility. *

AGE DISC./RESPONSIBILITY	TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				Totals
	0	1-3	4-6	7-11	
8-28 years; low or medium low (N=34)	58.9%	23.5	14.7	2.9	100.0%
8-28 years; medium high (N=33)	42.4%	21.2	12.2	24.2	100.0%
8-28 years; high (N=30)	36.7%	36.7	10.0	16.6	100.0%
4-7 years; low or medium low (N=61)	49.2%	19.7	18.0	13.1	100.0%
4-7 years; medium high (N=69)	30.4%	30.4	29.0	10.2	100.0%
4-7 years; high (N=68)	32.4%	17.6	26.5	23.5	100.0%
0-3 years; low or medium low (N=96)	29.2%	34.4	20.8	15.6	100.0%
0-3 years; medium high (N=136)	23.5%	33.1	24.3	19.1	100.0%
0-3 years; high (N=139)	19.4%	24.4	28.8	27.4	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). The measure of responsibility perceived is reported in Table 5.14.

Much the same result appears for education discrepancy and perceived parental responsibility, as shown in Table 5.17. Holding educational discrepancy between husband and wife constant, perceived responsibility has an effect on communicatory activity about the schools commensurate with the effect of educational discrepancy when perceived responsibility is held constant.

Table 5.17. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Couples' Education Discrepancy and Perceptions of Parental Responsibility. *

EDUCATION DISC./RESPONSIBILITY	TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				
	0	1-3	4-6	7-11	Totals
5-9 years; low or medium low (N=50)	46.0%	24.0	18.0	12.0	100.0%
5-9 years; medium high (N=68)	30.9%	33.9	23.5	11.7	100.0%
5-9 years; high (N=74)	32.4%	18.9	27.1	21.6	100.0%
1-4 years; low or medium low (N=67)	41.8%	28.4	22.4	7.4	100.0%
1-4 years; medium high (N=92)	28.3%	32.6	20.6	18.5	100.0%
1-4 years; high (N=91)	25.3%	26.4	23.1	25.2	100.0%
0 years; low or medium low (N=66)	33.3%	30.3	18.2	18.2	100.0%
0 years; medium high (N=70)	24.3%	27.1	28.5	20.1	100.0%
0 years; high (N=65)	15.4%	26.1	27.7	30.8	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which both said they talked about with the spouse (see Table 5.1). The measure of responsibility perceived is reported in Table 5.14.

The pairs of variables which could be subjected to this partialing procedure are numerous, so we have constructed an index of the eight which are most closely related to communicatory activity about the schools. If they measured the same thing, we hypothesized, then adding another variable would not increase the differentiating power of the index. However, as Table 5.18 shows, each new variable increases the distinction of communicatory activity, leading us to conclude that each of these eight characteristics plays a part in facilitating communicatory activity about the schools in the family.

An examination of Table 5.18 shows that the index is a better predictor of those who do not communicate than of those who do communicate. This would substantiate our point of view that what we are studying here are facilitative factors in the participation process. However felicitous the circumstances of the family by these characteristics, there is yet another factor -- involving values and rewards -- that must be accounted for.

We said earlier that values are a necessary but not sufficient condition for participation. We can say with equal probability that no matter how sure the road is to participation, the element of value received is undoubtedly present.

* * * * *

Table 5.18. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Index of Couples' Characteristics Related to Participation. *

INDEX RANK	TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				
	0	1-3	4-6	7-11	Totals
0 (N=23)	73.9%	21.8	4.3	---	100.0%
1 (N=85)	67.1%	23.4	5.9	3.6	100.0%
2 (N=143)	49.6%	25.2	14.0	11.2	100.0%
3 (N=183)	27.9%	31.7	29.5	10.9	100.0%
4 (N=161)	16.1%	29.8	25.5	28.6	100.0%
5 (N=93)	19.4%	25.8	27.9	26.9	100.0%
6 (N=36)	11.1%	13.9	36.1	38.9	100.0%
7 (N=8)	---	37.5	12.5	50.0	100.0%

* Couples where both members are registered voters in City E. The characteristics indexed are:

Age discrepancy: 0-3 years; Education discrepancy: 0 years; General level of agreement on school affairs: High; Usual method of resolving differences: Discuss it; Form of interaction during interview: Discussion; Amount of joint participation in non-school activities: 2 or more; Life cycle: youngest child less than 18 years old; Perception of parental responsibility: High.

The questions for these items are reported in Tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.10, 5.9, 5.5, 5.12, and 5.14.

Pressures to Participate
and Communication

In the previous chapter we reported that pressures to participate were most often perceived by those who participated most actively. As Table 5.19 shows, the reverse is equally true; among both husbands and wives, those who perceive pressures to be involved in school affairs are more likely to discuss school topics with their spouses. The relationships are both significant at the .05 level. It would appear from Table 5.19 that the husband not only perceives pressure more often, he is affected more by that perception.

Table 5.19. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Husband and Wife Perceptions of Pressures To Be Involved in School Affairs.*

<u>PERCEPTIONS OF PRESSURE</u>		<u>TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:</u>				
		<u>0</u>	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-11</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>By Husband</u>						
No pressures	(N=507)	26.6%	18.5	19.9	35.0	100.0%
Pressures	(N=226)	8.8%	10.2	15.9	65.1	100.0%
<u>By Wife</u>						
No pressures	(N=540)	22.4%	26.7	22.6	28.3	100.0%
Pressures	(N=191)	10.5%	11.0	28.3	50.2	100.0%

* Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which each said was talked about with the spouse, which gives higher estimates than when both are required to report the same topic. The question on perceived pressures is reported in Table 4.18.

We also reported in the last chapter that those who participate most actively in school affairs were most likely to see an expected role to be played by husband, wife, or both. On the other hand, they were least likely to follow the role prescription. Tables 5.20 and 5.21 show the effects of conformance and nonconformance to role prescriptions on husband-wife discussions of school topics.

As Table 5.20 shows, both husbands and wives perceived only two possible roles to which they would conform, and only one to which they did not conform. For both husband and wife, the nonconforming behavior is to see the wife as most interested in school activities but for both husband and wife to take an equal interest. Those husbands and wives who did report nonconformance are likely to discuss more school topics with their spouses. The relationship is significant at the .05 level.

Similar, but insignificant, relationships are shown in Table 5.21 for the role of interest in school financial policies. Here three roles are perceived by sizable numbers of husbands and wives. But nonconformance is again reported only for one role, that the husband be the more interested. Those who say that both are equally interested, not conforming to the role prescription, are relatively few in number, but they are slightly more active in discussing school topics with their spouses.

We can confirm an inference from the previous chapter: Those who perceive pressures and who depart from perceived role prescriptions toward joint participation are more likely to participate in school related activity.

* * * * *

Table 5.20. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Husband and Wife Expectations of Who Should Be More Interested in School Activities and by Conformance to Role Prescription.*

<u>EXPECTATION/CONFORMANCE</u>	<u>TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:</u>				
	<u>0</u>	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-11</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>By Husband</u>					
Wife should be more interested; family conforms to this role (N=342)	16.1%	17.5	19.0	47.4	100.0%
Wife should be more interested; family does not conform -- both are active (N=81)	9.9%	17.3	8.6	64.2	100.0%
Both should be interested; family conforms to this role (N=164)	18.3%	13.4	20.1	48.2	100.0%
<u>By Wife</u>					
Wife should be more interested; family conforms to this role (N=266)	17.7%	22.6	27.1	32.6	100.0%
Wife should be more interested; family does not conform -- both are active (N=124)	8.0%	20.2	21.0	50.8	100.0%
Both should be interested; family conforms to this role (N=171)	16.4%	18.7	26.3	38.6	100.0%

* Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which each said was talked about with the spouse, which gives higher estimates than when both are required to report the same topic. The question on expectations is reported in Table 4.20.

Table 5.21. Communicatory Activity in the Family about the Schools by Husband and Wife Expectations of Who Should Be More Interested in School Financial Policies and by Conformance to Role Prescription. *

EXPECTATION/CONFORMANCE	TOPICS DISCUSSED IN FAMILY:				
	0	1-3	4-6	7-11	Totals
<u>By Husband</u>					
Husband should be more interested; family conforms to this role (N=148)	9.5%	22.3	18.2	50.0	100.0%
Husband should be more interested; family does not conform -- both are active (N=25)	20.0%	20.0	8.0	52.0	100.0%
Wife should be more interested; family conforms to this role (N=117)	20.5%	14.5	20.5	44.5	100.0%
Both should be interested; family conforms to this role (N=311)	19.0%	15.4	17.7	47.9	100.0%
<u>By Wife</u>					
Husband should be more interested; family conforms to this role (N=92)	16.3%	27.2	18.5	38.0	100.0%
Husband should be more interested; family does not conform -- both are active (N=25)	---	32.0%	28.0	40.0	100.0%
Wife should be more interested; family conforms to this role (N=73)	27.4%	20.5	23.3	28.8	100.0%
Both should be interested; family conforms to this role (N=363)	13.2%	20.1	27.8	38.9	100.0%

* Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Communicatory activity is measured by the number of topics which each said was talked about with the spouse, which gives higher estimates than when both are required to report the same topic. The question on expectations is reported in Table 4.21.

Influence Attempts

The husband tends to overestimate his success somewhat in winning over his wife to his point of view on school affairs. The wife tends to underestimate her success in influencing her husband. But as Table 5.22 shows, there is about two-thirds chance of success for both, as testified to by the one who is influenced. Husbands and wives both have some difficulty in telling if they are successful. Influence attempts are not common. As Table 5.22 shows, about one-sixth of the husbands and wives report trying to win over the spouse.

Table 5.23 shows a few differences in the areas of influence attempts by husbands and wives. Husbands try more often to convince the wife about schools generally -- which includes finances, buildings and facilities, and curriculum. The wives concentrate more on how the schools are run, students and teachers, and, particularly, on participation in school activities. The latter confirms the earlier result that husbands perceive pressures to participate from their wives while exerting little such pressure themselves.

The relative success each enjoys differs by area, as shown in Table 5.24. The husband does best on schools generally and their finances, on buildings and facilities, and on curriculum -- exactly those in which he more often tries to exert influence. Similarly, the wife is usually successful on teaching methods and greater participation. However, she does not surpass the husband on how schools are run or on students. Unfortunately, the numbers here are very small, permitting us to argue only from consistency.

Table 5.22. Successful Influence Attempts in the Family on School Affairs as Seen by Husband and Wife. *

<u>TRIES BY. . .</u>	<u>AS SEEN BY. . .</u>	<u>RESULT</u>	<u>PROPORTIONS</u>
Husband	Husband	Success	65.4%
		Failure	24.1
		Doesn't know	<u>10.5</u> 100.0% (N=133)
Husband	Wife	Success	64.8%
		Failure	32.4
		Doesn't know	<u>2.8</u> 100.0% (N=108)
Wife	Wife	Success	52.6%
		Failure	32.4
		Doesn't know	<u>15.0</u> 100.0% (N=114)
Wife	Husband	Success	68.8%
		Failure	21.9
		Doesn't know	<u>9.3</u> 100.0% (N=96)

* Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. The questions used were: "Does your (spouse) ever seem to you to be trying to win you over to (his-her) point of view on school matters? On what school matters? Did (he-she) succeed on any of these in winning you over?" and "Do you ever try to win your (spouse) over to ybur point of view on school matters? On what school matters? Did you succeed on any of these in winning (him-her) over?"

Table 5.23. Areas in which Husbands and Wives Attempt to Influence Opinion of Spouse.*

<u>AREA OF ATTEMPT</u>	<u>INFLUENCE ATTEMPT BY:</u>	
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
Schools generally, including finances	25.3%	16.0%
How schools are run	12.9	16.0
Buildings and facilities	7.1	3.9
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	7.5	10.2
Teachers	2.5	5.3
Teaching methods	12.9	15.5
Curriculum	14.5	8.3
Extracurricular activities	2.1	3.4
Comparison to private schools	9.1	7.3
Participation in school activities	2.5	12.1
Others	3.6	2.0
N:**	100.0% (241)	100.0% (206)

* Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Question on influence attempts is reported in Table 5.22.

** N is total number of influence attempts made.

Table 5.24. Areas in which Husbands and Wives Successfully Attempted to Influence Opinion of Spouse, as Seen by Spouse. *

<u>AREA OF ATTEMPT</u>	RATIO OF SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS BY:	
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
Schools generally, including finances	20/27	6/12
How schools are run	12/16	11/15
Buildings and facilities	6/9	1/2
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	6/8	11/14
Teachers	2/2	3/4
Teaching methods	9/17	12/14
Curriculum	10/15	1/7
Extracurricular activities	1/3	1/5
Comparison to private schools	4/11	4/7
Participation in school activities	1/1	9/11
Others	<u>1/1</u> 72/110**	<u>7/9</u> 66/100

* Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Questions on influence attempts and successes are reported in Table 5.22.

** Totals are not equal to those reported in Table 5.22 because the unit of analysis differs: Here they are the attempts successful; there they were the persons.

Our study of the characteristics of successful influence wielders suffers from the lack of husbands and wives who attempt to influence their spouses. With one exception, however, the obtained results are in the hypothesized direction.

Success on non-school topics in the family does not relate to equivalent success on school topics, as shown in Table 5.25. What it does relate to is fewer attempts on school matters.

For both husbands and wives, success in influencing persons outside the family on school affairs tends to be related to success in influencing the spouse on school affairs, as shown in Table 5.26. Success outside the family also is related to more frequent tries to influence the spouse.

Those husbands and wives who showed evidence of influence attempts during our interviews tend to try more often to influence their spouses, as shown in Table 5.27. They are also more often successful.

Tables 5.28 and 5.29 show that informational capacity is related to both frequency and success of influence attempts. Those who gave information to their spouses during our interviews are more often successful in their attempts, and they try more often. Those who can identify their local school officials are similarly more likely to try and more likely to succeed.

The complementarity of influence is shown in Table 5.30. If the spouse is perceived as having influenced either husband or wife, then the husband or wife is more likely to succeed in turn.

* * * * *

Table 5.25. Successful Influence Attempts in the Family on School Affairs by Previous Success on Other Topics Discussed in the Family.*

<u>PREVIOUS SUCCESS</u>		<u>SUCCESS OF INFLUENCE ATTEMPT:</u>			<u>Totals</u>
		<u>Didn't Try</u>	<u>Tried; Failed</u>	<u>Tried; Succeeded</u>	
<u>By Husband</u>					
Low	(N=54)	87.1%	5.6	7.3	100.0%
Medium low	(N=229)	85.6%	5.2	9.2	100.0%
Medium high	(N=295)	88.8%	2.4	8.8	100.0%
High	(N=69)	94.2%	1.4	4.4	100.0%
<u>By Wife</u>					
Low	(N=81)	81.5%	4.9	13.6	100.0%
Medium low	(N=273)	88.3%	3.3	8.4	100.0%
Medium high	(N=238)	87.4%	5.5	7.1	100.0%
High	(N=43)	93.0%	---	7.0	100.0%

* Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Successful influence is measured as the spouse perceives it, not the initiator. The question on previous success was: "On any topic of discussion, how successful are you usually in getting your (spouse) to agree with you: 1 not at all successful; 2 not very successful; 3 somewhat successful; 4 pretty successful; 5 very successful?" The categories are: low (1-2), medium low (3), medium high (4), and high (5).

Table 5.26. Successful Influence Attempts in the Family on School Affairs by Previous Success in Discussions outside the Family.*

<u>PREVIOUS OUTSIDE SUCCESS</u>		<u>SUCCESS OF INFLUENCE ATTEMPT:</u>			
		<u>Didn't Try</u>	<u>Tried; Failed</u>	<u>Tried; Succeeded</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>By Husband</u>					
Never tried	(N=238)	92.0%	2.5	5.5	100.0%
Low	(N=48)	85.4%	6.2	8.4	100.0%
Medium	(N=242)	87.2%	3.3	9.5	100.0%
High	(N=138)	85.5%	4.3	10.2	100.0%
<u>By Wife</u>					
Never tried	(N=272)	93.7%	2.9	3.4	100.0%
Low	(N=39)	87.2%	5.1	7.7	100.0%
Medium	(N=204)	83.8%	3.9	12.3	100.0%
High	(N=147)	81.6%	4.8	13.6	100.0%

- * Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Successful influence is measured as the spouse perceives it, not the initiator. The question on previous outside success was: "Generally speaking, how successful are you in getting people to agree with you in discussions of school matters: never tried; 1 not at all successful; 2 not very successful; 3 somewhat successful; 4 pretty successful; 5 very successful?" The categories are: never tried, low (1-2), medium (3), and high (4-5).

Table 5.27. Successful Influence Attempts in the Family on School Affairs by Influence Attempts during the Interview.*

<u>INFLUENCE ATTEMPTS</u>		<u>SUCCESS OF INFLUENCE ATTEMPTS:</u>			<u>Totals</u>
		<u>Didn't Try</u>	<u>Tried; Failed</u>	<u>Tried; Succeeded</u>	
<u>By Husband'</u>					
0 attempts	(N=484)	89.7%	3.5	6.8	100.0%
1-2 attempts	(N=154)	89.0%	3.2	7.8	100.0%
3-11 attempts	(N=59)	74.6%	5.1	20.3	100.0%
<u>By Wife</u>					
0 attempts	(N=521)	88.7%	4.0	7.3	100.0%
1-2 attempts	(N=120)	83.3%	3.3	13.4	100.0%
3-11 attempts	(N=53)	84.9%	3.8	11.3	100.0%

- * Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Successful influence is measured as the spouse perceives it, not the initiator. Interviewers were to record the number of times an influence attempt was made while six questions on local school policy were asked of the couple together.

Table 5.28. Successful Influence Attempts in the Family on School Affairs by Information Given during the Interview.*

<u>INFORMATION GIVEN</u>		<u>SUCCESS OF INFLUENCE ATTEMPTS:</u>			<u>Totals</u>
		<u>Didn't Try</u>	<u>Tried; Failed</u>	<u>Tried; Succeeded</u>	
<u>By Husband</u>					
0 times	(N=268)	91.4%	3.7	4.9	100.0%
1-4 times	(N=261)	87.4%	3.4	9.2	100.0%
5-11 times	(N=168)	84.5%	3.6	11.9	100.0%
<u>By Wife</u>					
0 times	(N=312)	86.2%	4.8	9.0	100.0%
1-4 times	(N=273)	89.4%	2.9	7.7	100.0%
5-11 times	(N=109)	86.2%	3.7	10.1	100.0%

* Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Successful influence is measured as the spouse perceives it, not the initiator. Interviewers were to record the number of times each individual offered an item of information while six questions on local school policy were asked of the couple together.

Table 5.29. Successful Influence Attempts in the Family on School Affairs by Knowledge of School Officials. *

<u>KNOWLEDGE</u>	<u>SUCCESS OF INFLUENCE ATTEMPTS:</u>			<u>Totals</u>
	<u>Didn't Try</u>	<u>Tried; Failed</u>	<u>Tried; Succeeded</u>	
<u>By Husband</u>				
Names 0 officials (N=423)	90.8%	3.5	5.7	100.0%
Names 1 official (N=120)	86.7%	3.3	10.0	100.0%
Names 2-6 officials (N=153)	82.4%	3.9	13.7	100.0%
<u>By Wife</u>				
Names 0 officials (N=376)	90.2%	4.0	5.8	100.0%
Names 1 official (N=141)	85.1%	4.3	10.6	100.0%
Names 2-6 officials (N=177)	83.6%	3.4	13.0	100.0%

- * Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Successful influence is measured as the spouse perceives it, not the initiator. Respondents were asked to name the superintendents of the local elementary and high school districts and two board members for each district.

Table 5.30. Successful Influence Attempts in the Family on School Affairs by Perception of Influence Attempts by Spouse.*

<u>SPOUSE'S ATTEMPT PERCEIVED</u>		<u>SUCCESS IN INFLUENCE ATTEMPTS:</u>			<u>Totals</u>
		<u>Didn't Try</u>	<u>Tried; Failed</u>	<u>Tried; Succeeded</u>	
<u>By Husband</u>					
No attempt by wife	(N=580)	90.9%	2.4	6.7	100.0%
Wife attempted; but failed	(N=26)	88.5%	7.7	3.8	100.0%
Wife attempted; succeeded	(N=58)	69.0%	10.3	20.7	100.0%
<u>By Wife</u>					
No attempt by husband	(N=590)	89.3%	3.9	6.8	100.0%
Husband attempted; but failed	(N=22)	63.6%	9.1	27.3	100.0%
Husband attempted; succeeded	(N=52)	75.0%	1.9	23.1	100.0%

* Both husband and wife are registered voters in City E. Successful influence is measured as the spouse perceives it, not the initiator. The question on perception of spouse's influence attempts is reported in Table 5.22.

Summary and Conclusions

To summarize, we have found a number of conditions that facilitate school related communicatory activity between husband and wife. Viewed negatively, these are blocks to interaction and hence destructive of the likelihood of greater school-voter understanding. The more important of these conditions are:

The less age discrepancy between husband and wife, the more their communicatory activity.

The less education discrepancy between husband and wife, the more their communicatory activity.

The greater their general agreement on school matters, the more their communicatory activity.

If their usual method of resolving differences is discussion, the more their communicatory activity.

If their form of interaction during our interview was to discuss the questions, the more their communicatory activity.

The more non-school activities they engaged in jointly, the more their communicatory activity.

If their youngest child was under eighteen, the more their communicatory activity.

The greater their perception of parental responsibility, the more their communicatory activity.

An index made up from these eight factors showed a cumulative effect on communicatory activity, indicating that each of the factors has an independent

effect and showing a very strong predictive power for non-participation. We concluded, therefore, that these are facilitating factors, factors which can block participation but which need accompanying values to assure participation.

Completing an analysis begun in the previous chapter, we have found that more communicatory activity occurs in husband-wife pairs where pressures to participate are perceived and where perceived role prescriptions are not followed -- the latter being when the perceived role is for one to be more active and where both are equally active. Where a role is perceived for both to be active and that role is followed, the effect is not as great as when the perceived role is for one to be active and both are equally active.

About one-sixth of the husbands and wives attempt to influence their spouses on school affairs. Of these, two-thirds are successful by the spouse's testimony. They are usually more successful on those subjects they more often try -- the husbands on school finances, buildings and facilities, and curriculum, the wives on teaching methods and greater participation.

We did not find enough influence attempts to confirm statistically our hypotheses about characteristics of successful influence wielders. As predicted, nevertheless, they tend to be voters who are also successful on school topics with other persons, who try most often to influence the spouse, who possess more information about the schools, and who are in turn influenced more frequently by their spouse. Success on non-school topics with the spouse did not relate to influence, contrary to expectation.

CHAPTER SIX

HOW DO THE SCHOOLS COMMUNICATE TO THE VOTER?

The schools and the voters are in many instances far apart, far from the basis of understanding needed to assure support for public education. The reasons are many. The effects are destructive of progress. The answer is not simple. Nevertheless, only one answer is possible: better communication. Communication must stir valid and strong response; communication must tap the values of the voter and also facilitate his expression of those values.

Any attempt to attain better communication must necessarily consider the reasons for the distance between schools and voters and the effects this distance has on their relationship. We have seen already some of the reasons and their effects. Two reasons stand out: the different values of school people and voters, with resulting frustrations for both, and the increasing size of school districts, with a concomitant professionalization of the administrator role. The first brings unsatisfying participation and scathing criticisms. The second brings little participation at all, as the voter perceives no efficacy in his attention to school policy. The administrator has the initiative; the voters are passive, now and then voting "yes" or "no" on a proposal. Rarely do voters have a choice between two policy alternatives.

Just as the administrator has additional responsibility as director of the

school program, so has he responsibility for bridging the gap between schools and voters. He must know the problems involved, and the best solutions. He needs to remember that voters will not pay attention to what he says without obvious reason for doing so. As the Educational Policies Commission (11) has said:

. . . The administrator does his most effective building when he makes communication about education become communication about the citizen's personal affairs. (pp. 118-9)

He needs to make his messages intelligible, but he must know his audience too.

The Commission states:

The illusion that the communication process is complete once a message is carefully thought out and placed in channels can be, in fact, a barrier to communication. (p. 122)

He must realize that only under special conditions will those who disagree with him pay any attention to what he has to say, that is, any attention that will prove productive of greater understanding. Studies by Hovland and his associates (16) make this last point quite clear. He must know the paths influential statements take in policy decisions, that they often are a two-step process -- as Katz and Lazarsfeld (18) describe them -- from authorities to opinion leaders to voters. He must not only use mass communications effectively, he must also make each member of the school staff an effective spokesman for the schools. He must have a means of receiving messages, of knowing what the voters are saying -- or trying to say -- to him. He should know for instance, that some of the voters we talked with had these things to say about communicating with their schools:

I believe the teachers and public officials should keep the needs and affairs before the public more often.

I would like to see better means of communication between home and school.

The things that worried me and my friends most was not feeling free to go to the teachers with our problems. They never seemed to have time to see us.

Teachers should have one or two days a week where they stay in school for half an hour to meet parents and discuss childrens' problems.

I would like for a publication to be issued telling what the schools are doing and what the citizens can do to improve the schools.

Teachers are a little on the defensive when you go to find out about poor grades. I feel teachers must be under a strain feeling parents might be critical.

They had more to say along the same line, some of which we reported earlier in our discussion of the efficacy of participation (Chapter Four).

With these problems in mind, we interviewed voters in City D about their communications behavior at the time of a school bond election. We wanted to know their sources of information about day-to-day school information and about financial information. We asked who they thought were well informed about school affairs and how much they had talked to this person. We asked how they usually heard about school matters -- by mass media, by public communications, or by personal contacts. Then we asked what they preferred as a channel from these three. Not only in City D, but in the others as well, we asked what they would like to have more information on -- if any at all. We asked City D voters about their reasons for wanting more -- or no more -- information. We analyzed the responses of City D voters to these questions in relation to their voting behavior in their bond election, seeking those parts of the communication structure that are related to voter support of the schools. We also undertook in City D a content analysis of the bond issue discussions originated by the schools,

carried in the newspapers, and further carried among voters. We attempted in this way to see the fate of school originated messages as they passed through newspapers to the voters.

Throughout this chapter runs a contrast between a structure of communications for day-to-day school affairs and a special communications structure built by City D school officials for passing their financial election. Essentially, this new structure was a political campaign machine, organized for this one purpose and dissolved after victory. This is one answer to school-voter relations; politics is a frequent substitute for policy.

* * * * *

Sources and Channels

When voters in City D want information about the schools, they are likely to turn to school officials, particularly principals, as shown in Table 6.1. Teachers and friends and relatives account equally for most of the remainder. When the information wanted is about finances, principals are less likely to be looked to; so too are teachers, friends and relatives. The lack of voter contact with schools is reflected in their choices of well informed sources on school affairs; only half as many school officials are nominated. Also indicative of this condition is the increased number of voters who see no well informed source available. These differences are significant at the .05 level.

Two channels stand out as means by which voters learn about the schools. As Table 6.2 shows, newspapers lead the other mass media as useful channels; personal communications with friends follow in usefulness. The differences are

Table 6.1. Perceived Sources for General School Information and Financial Information, and Perceived Informed Sources of Voters in City D. *

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>SOURCE FOR:</u>		<u>INFORMED SOURCE</u>
	<u>General Infor.</u>	<u>Financial Infor.</u>	
School officials	65.9%	69.3%	31.1%
(school board members)	(12.2)	(19.0)	(6.2)
(superintendent)	(11.7)	(16.7)	(7.3)
(principals)	(25.4)	(18.6)	(6.2)
(others not specified)	(16.6)	(14.0)	(11.4)
Teachers	15.3	4.2	16.4
Friends and relatives	15.3	5.6	22.6
Local public official (non-school)	.5	8.4	7.3
Others (miscellaneous)	2.5	6.5	7.9
No source available	.5	6.0	14.7
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:**	(393)	(215)	(177)

* In answer to questions:

"If you wanted information about the schools, what person would you ask?"

"If you wanted information about whether the schools should have more financial support, what person would you ask?"

"Can you give me an example of a person in town who seems to be well informed on school affairs?"

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

significant at the .05 level.

Table 6.2. Channels which Voters in City D Have Found Useful in the Past for Learning about School Affairs.*

<u>CHANNEL WHICH WAS USEFUL</u>	<u>PROPORTIONS OF VOTERS WHO FOUND CHANNEL USEFUL**</u>
<u>Mass media</u>	
Newspaper articles	87.5%
Magazine articles	34.0
Television programs	33.6
Radio programs	25.3
<u>Public communications</u>	
Special school bulletins	49.3%
Speeches by school representatives	31.0
Others	1.3
<u>Personal communications</u>	
Friends	67.6%
Others -- school personnel	16.0
Others -- non-school persons	9.8

- * In answer to the question: "Which of these have proved useful to you in the past in learning about the schools here: television programs, radio programs, newspaper articles, magazine articles, special school bulletins, speeches by school representatives, friends? Are there any ways that we haven't mentioned that you have found useful in learning about the schools here?"

** N=306.

Table 6.3 shows that what is used is not always the preferred channel. Only about 3% usually use personal communication with school officials to find about the schools -- but some 54% would prefer to Board members are especially favored. Public officials and teachers still receive preference above their use, but friends and relatives, newspapers, school newsletters, and contacts with other parents and persons at work drop off considerably. The differences are significant at the .05 level.

Specific conversations about the local bond issue were not frequent, as shown in Table 6.4. Over half of those reported are with relatives, friends, and co-workers. Some 31% of those talking to voters about the bond issue are either school personnel or persons speaking on behalf of the schools' needs. That the voter's attitude is passive in these latter communications is shown in Table 6.5. When the voter himself has something to say about the bond issue, over 92% of the time it was to another person much like him. Friends and neighbors account for three-fourths of the persons he talked to. Although he occasionally had something to say to a school representative, the voter normally listened to persons speaking on behalf of the schools in the campaign.

The likelihood of voting "yes" in the school bond election is related to voter perceptions of available sources of information, as shown in Table 6.6. When the perceived source is a member of the schools' personnel, the likelihood of a "yes" vote is significantly higher at the .05 level. This holds for perception of school personnel as sources for day-to-day information about financial information, and for perception of school personnel as informed sources. There is no intention

Table 6.3. A Comparison of Channels which Voters in City D Have Usually Used to Those They Would Prefer To Use in Learning about Their Schools. *

<u>CHANNELS</u>	<u>CHANNELS:</u>	
	<u>Usually Used</u>	<u>Preferred</u>
<u>Mass media</u>		
Newspapers	24.4%	11.6%
Others	2.7	2.8
<u>Public communications</u>		
School newsletters	7.3	1.1
Others	.8	1.4
<u>Personal communications</u>		
School officials	2.8	53.8
(board members)	(---)	(16.6)
(superintendent)	(---)	(8.3)
(principals)	(1.0)	(10.8)
(not further specified)	(1.8)	(18.1)
Teachers	8.7	7.8
Friends and relatives	36.0	8.2
Other parents	7.2	2.2
At work	6.9	1.7
Public officials	4.8	7.8
Others	1.4	1.6
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:**	(505)	(361)

* In answer to the questions: "How do you usually hear about what's going on in the schools?" and "What would be the best way for you to get hold of information about the schools?"

** N is the total number of responses, not including "no response."

Table 6.4. Sources of Communications About Bond Issue Received by Voters in City D. *

<u>SOURCE OF COMMUNICATIONS</u>	<u>PROPORTION OF ALL SOURCES</u>
Local schools: officials, teachers, and students	20.9%
Relatives, friends, neighbors, and co-workers	57.0
PTA, Citizens Voluntary Committee, and civic leaders and organizations	10.5
Source not specified clearly (non-school)	$\frac{11.6}{100.0\%}$
N:**	(86)

* In answer to the question: "Has anyone mentioned something about the local schools to you lately? Who?" Only those answers relevant to bond issue are reported above.

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

Table 6.5. Recipients of Messages about Bond Issue from Voters in City D. *

<u>MESSAGE RECIPIENTS</u>	<u>PROPORTION OF ALL RECIPIENTS</u>
Local Schools: officials, teachers, and students	7.4%
Relatives, friends, neighbors	92.6
(Relatives)	(4.8)
(Friends)	(46.9)
(Neighbors)	(30.9)
PTA, Citizens Voluntary Committee, and civic leaders and organizations	$\frac{---}{100.0\%}$
N:*	(81)

* In answer to the question: "Have you said anything to someone lately about the local schools? To whom?" Only those answers relevant to bond issue are reported above.

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

Table 6.6. Likelihood of Voting "Yes" by Perceived Sources for School Relevant Information, for Voters in City D.*

SOURCES		LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING "YES":			
		High	Low	None**	Totals
<u>For day-to-day information</u>					
School personnel	(N=249)	25.3%	31.3	43.4	100.0%
Others	(N=73)	13.7%	31.5	54.8	100.0%
No one	(N=24)	---	12.5%	87.5	100.0%
<u>For financial information</u>					
School personnel	(N=133)	36.1%	30.8	33.1	100.0%
Others	(N=39)	12.8%	17.9	69.3	100.0%
No one	(N=137)	8.8%	30.6	60.6	100.0%
<u>As well informed</u>					
School personnel	(N=74)	29.7%	41.9	28.4	100.0%
Others	(N=78)	24.4%	21.8	53.8	100.0%
No one	(N=144)	13.2%	29.9	56.9	100.0%

* Questions on sources are reported in Table 6.1.

** See Appendix B for index of voting likelihood. "None" means they are very likely not to vote at all.

of implying a causal relationship; it is doubtful there is one. Our knowledge of communication processes suggests that the favorable voter turns to the schools for information while the apathetic or unfavorable voter merely turns away to talk with his like-minded friends, or, not to talk at all.

(The index used to measure likelihood of voting "yes" is necessarily biased. Voters are reluctant to report a negative vote against the schools. Had we taken their reports at face value, a false picture of voting behavior would result. We have constructed an index of the likelihood of voting "yes" in an attempt to overcome this problem. See Appendix B for the items used.)

If a voter knew no well informed source, he was unlikely to vote at all, as shown in Table 6.7. If he knew a well informed source, the voter who talked more with this person was more likely to have voted "yes." The tabled relationship is significant at the .05 level. The amount of interaction reported by the voters is not encouraging, and the principal difference is accounted for by knowledge of a well informed source, whatever the interaction.

Although newspapers and friends were most often used as channels for learning about the schools, Table 6.8 shows these channel usages are not related to a high likelihood of voting "yes." Two lesser used channels, the public speeches and special bulletins on behalf of schools, are more highly related to voting likelihood. Again, however, it looks like selective exposure. Those who are likely to vote for the schools go to hear the speeches; parents are more likely to have received the special bulletins and to have paid attention to them. The tabled entries are not independent so we have not made the usual test for significance.

* * * * *

Table 6.7. Knowledge of, and Interaction with, Well Informed Source Related to Likelihood of Voting "Yes," for Voters in City D. *

<u>KNOWLEDGE/INTERACTION</u>	<u>LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING "YES":</u>			
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>None**</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Knows no well informed source (N=162)	12.3%	27.2	60.5	100.0%
Knows source; low interaction (N=106)	24.5%	38.7	36.8	100.0%
Knows source; high interaction (N=38)	39.5%	21.0	39.5	100.0%

- * The question on knowledge of well informed source is reported in Table 6.1. Interaction with well informed source was ascertained by the question: "How much have you talked with this person lately? Not at all; not very often; occasionally; pretty often; very often." High interaction is scored for those responding "pretty often" or "very often."

** "None" means they are very likely not to vote at all. See Appendix B.

Table 6.8. Likelihood of Voting "Yes" by Use of Channels to Obtain Information about the Schools, for Voters in City D.*

<u>CHANNEL WHICH WAS USEFUL</u>		<u>LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING "YES":</u>			
		<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>None**</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>Mass Media</u>					
Newspaper articles	(N=269)	20.8%	31.2	48.0	100.0%
Magazine articles	(N=104)	14.4%	38.4	47.2	100.0%
Television programs	(N=99)	17.2%	37.4	45.4	100.0%
Radio programs	(N=74)	20.3%	32.4	47.3	100.0%
<u>Public communications</u>					
Special school bulletins	(N=155)	27.1%	31.6	41.3	100.0%
Speeches by school representatives	(N=98)	37.8%	24.4	37.8	100.0%
<u>Personal communications</u>					
Friends	(N=207)	21.2%	28.5	50.3	100.0%

* Question on channels is reported in Table 6.2.

** See Appendix B for index of voting likelihood. "None" means that they are very likely not to vote at all.

Information Wanted

When we asked voters in three cities what they wanted more information about, they said: how schools are run, curriculum, and teaching methods -- as reported in Table 6.9. Curriculum is equally desired from city to city. The voters in City B, the problem community, asked more often about how the schools are run. Overall, the similarities are more impressive. Differences of 8-9% between cities are significant at the .05 level. The numbers of voters asking for information are not large. In percentages, they are: City A, 29.5%; City B, 31.9%; City C, 24.1%.

Curriculum is not a point at issue in financial elections, but as Table 6.10 shows, voters do not lose their interest in the topic even so. Conduct of the schools is displaced in the interest of City D voters by the schools' needs, however. Differences of 6-7% are significant at the .05 level.

The voter who is dissatisfied with the schools is more likely to want information, as shown in Table 6.11. Holding perception of the economic situation constant, the critics are more curious. Holding views of the schools constant, those seeing the economic situation more favorably are more curious. The first difference is greater; both are significant at the .05 level. The interest in the curriculum is concentrated among those we have called "grumblers," voters who are optimistic about the economic situation but unfavorable in their opinions of the schools. This corresponds to their interest, noted earlier, in criticisms about the schools in national magazines (which most frequently dealt with curriculum).

Table 6.9. Areas in which Voters of Three Cities Want More Information. *

INFORMATION WANTED ON. . .	CITY:			AVERAGE
	A	B	C	
Schools generally	7.7%	6.4%	7.4%	7.1%
How schools are run	19.3	30.1	21.8	24.2
Buildings and facilities	6.4	7.8	2.8	6.1
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	9.0	4.9	5.1	6.4
Teachers	8.1	4.0	13.9	7.9
Teaching methods	16.1	17.0	9.7	14.9
Curriculum	22.2	20.8	24.5	22.3
Sports, music, and recreation	1.6	.9	.9	1.1
Other extracurricular activities	.6	.3	---	.3
Adult education	1.3	.9	---	.8
Special services for students or community	7.7	6.9	13.9	8.9
N:**	100.0% (311)	100.0% (346)	100.0% (216)	100.0% (873)

* In answer to the question: "Is there anything in particular concerning the local schools that you would like to know more about? What?"

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

Table 6.10. Areas in which Voters of City D Wanted More Information at the Time of a Bond Election, Compared to Average Wants of Voters in Three Cities. *

<u>INFORMATION WANTED ON. . .</u>	<u>CITY D</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
Schools generally (incl. bond issue)	20.6%	7.1%
How schools are run	2.2	24.2
Buildings and facilities	13.3	6.1
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	7.1	6.4
Teachers	8.5	7.9
Teaching methods	9.5	14.9
Curriculum	26.1	22.3
All extracurricular activities	1.4	1.4
Adult education and special services	2.8	9.7
Election itself (where and when to vote)	8.5	---
N:**	100.0% (211)	100.0% (873)

* Voters in City D answered two questions:

"Is there anything in particular concerning the schools that you would like to know more about?"

"Is there anything about this last election on which you would have liked to have had more information?"

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

Table 6.11. Areas in which Voters of Three Cities Want More Information by Utility of Local Schools.*

INFORMATION WANTED ON. . .	UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS:			
	Poor times Poor schools	Good times Poor schools	Poor times Good schools	Good times Good schools
Schools generally	2.4%	4.7%	3.4%	2.5%
How schools are run	11.1	8.5	11.6	10.5
Buildings and facilities	3.2	3.1	2.0	1.2
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	2.4	4.7	---	1.9
Teachers	4.6	3.1	.7	.6
Teaching methods	5.1	6.2	5.4	2.5
Curriculum	7.8	20.9	.7	8.0
Sports, music, and recreation	.5	---	---	1.2
Other extracurricular activities	.3	.8	---	---
Adult education	.3	.8	---	1.2
Special services for students or community	<u>1.4</u> 39.1%**	<u>2.3</u> 55.1%	<u>3.4</u> 27.2%	<u>4.3</u> 33.9%
N:	(370)	(129)	(147)	(162)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on information wanted is reported in Table 6.9. The utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. The column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of information wanted by each type of utility.

Participation in school affairs is highly related to the desire for more information about the schools, as shown in Table 6.12. Among low participation voters, those who also have a low sense of efficacy are very likely to want no information at all. Among high participation voters, those who have a low sense of efficacy are more likely to want more information -- perhaps to justify their relatively high participation! These differences are all significant at the .05 level. The interest in curriculum is highest among the low efficacy, high participation voters, who also show the most interest in learning more about how the schools are run. In other areas, they are not much more likely to want more information than the high efficacy, high participation voters.

As we might have expected from examination of who wants more information, Table 6.13 shows that those wanting more information in City D were no more likely to have voted "yes" than those who said they were getting enough.

In City D, voters who wanted more information about curriculum were least likely to vote "yes" on the bond issue, as shown in Table 6.14. Previous analysis would again have suggested this result. Other areas of interest are equally related to likelihood of voting at all. Voting "yes" occurred more often among those who wanted to know more about school conditions and needs. Although the numbers are small, the differences in the table are significant at the .05 level.

Table 6.12. Areas in which Voters of Three Cities Want More Information by Discrepancies in Efficacy and Participation.*

INFORMATION WANTED ON. . .	EFFICACY/PARTICIPATION			
	Low Effic. Low Partic.	High Effic. Low Partic.	Low Effic. High Partic.	High Effic. High Partic.
Schools generally	2.0%	2.8%	3.3%	3.0%
How schools are run	1.0	5.6	19.6	14.5
Buildings and facilities	.3	.9	6.5	3.6
Students -- conduct and accomplishment	.7	.9	3.3	2.3
Teachers	.3	.9	9.8	5.0
Teaching methods	1.4	2.3	7.6	7.3
Curriculum	.3	3.8	16.3	9.2
Sports, music, and recreation	---	---	---	.7
Other extracurricular activities	.3	---	---	.3
Adult education	---	.5	---	1.0
Special services for students or community	.7	3.3	6.5	7.6
	7.0% **	21.0%	72.9%	54.5%
N:	(294)	(213)	(92)	(303)

* Voters are combined for the three cities. The question on information wanted is reported in Table 6.9. The efficacy/participation categories are the extreme entries in Table 4.6.

** Column entries may sum to less or more than 100% according to the number of responses per person. The column totals, therefore, furnish an index of the extent of information wanted by each efficacy/participation category.

Table 6.13. Likelihood of Voting "Yes" by Level of Information Desired, for Voters in City D.*

INFORMATION DESIRED		LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING "YES":			Totals
		High	Low	None**	
More than now	(N=136)	21.3%	30.9	47.8	100.0%
About the same as now	(N=153)	20.2%	30.1	49.7	100.0%
Less than now, or not ascertained	(N=17)	5.9%	29.4	64.7	100.0%

* In answer to the question: "Would you like to have more information about the schools, less information, or just about what you have now?"

**See Appendix B for index of voting likelihood. "None" means they are very likely not to vote at all.

Table 6.14. Likelihood of Voting "Yes" by Area in which More Information is Desired, for Voters in City D.*

INFORMATION DESIRED ON. . .		LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING "YES":			Totals
		High	Low	None**	
School conditions and needs	(N=30)	33.3%	23.3	43.4	100.0%
Election and bond issue elements	(N=59)	18.6%	23.8	57.6	100.0%
Curriculum	(N=47)	6.4%	51.1	42.5	100.0%
Other areas -- students, teachers, methods, extracurricular activities	(N=65)	21.6%	33.9	44.5	100.0%

* In answer to the questions: "Is there anything in particular concerning the schools that you would like to know more about?" and, "Is there anything about this last election on which you would have liked to have had more information?"

** See Appendix B for index of voting likelihood. "None" means they are very likely not to vote at all.

The reasons voters in City D had for wanting more information are given in Table 6.15. Few, some 6%, wanted it to be able to do something. About 40% were concerned to know that everything was all right or to find out what really was going on. The remainder were interested in the subject itself. Of those not wanting more information, two-thirds said they knew enough already; the other third weren't interested.

Voters who wanted to do something were no more likely to vote, or vote "yes," than voters who weren't interested in more information or voters who wanted the "right" information, as shown in Table 6.16. Those who wanted no more information because they had enough were just as likely to vote "yes," but somewhat less likely to vote, than voters who wanted reassurance or who thought the subject interesting in itself. The categories are not independent and we have made no test of significance.

• • • • •

Rationales for Voting

Each of four rationales to the voting decision was endorsed by a third to two-fifths of the voters in City D, as shown in Table 6.17. The rationale most favored was that what was heard or read "seemed a really good explanation." However, as Table 6.18 shows, the "better" the rationale, the less likely its user was to have voted, or to have voted "yes." Again the categories are not independent.

• • • • •

Table 6.15. Reasons Given by Voters in City D for Wanting -- or Not Wanting -- More Information*

<u>REASON GIVEN</u>	<u>CITY D</u>
<u>Wants more information</u>	
Is interested	27.1%
Subject is important	26.4
Wants reassurance that something is being done, or done right	25.0
Wants "right" information	15.1
Wants to be able to do something -- talk, act, or to vote intelligently	6.4
	<u>100.0%</u> (N=284**)
<u>Wants no more information</u>	
Not interested	35.5%
Knows enough already	64.5
	<u>100.0%</u> (N=177**)

* Reasons were asked after the questions reported in Table 6.10.

** N is total number of responses, not including "no response."

Table 6.16. Likelihood of Voting "Yes" by Reasons Given for Wanting More Information, for Voters in City D.*

REASON GIVEN	LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING "YES":			Totals
	High	Low	None**	
<u>Wants more information</u>				
Is interested (N=81)	23.5%	29.5	47.0	100.0%
Subject is important (N=75)	22.7%	36.0	41.3	100.0%
Wants reassurance (N=75)	25.3%	32.0	42.7	100.0%
Wants "right" information (N=43)	9.3%	30.2	60.5	100.0%
Wants to be able to "do something" (N=18)	11.1%	33.3	55.6	100.0%
<u>Wants no more information</u>				
Not interested (N=60)	5.0%	30.0	65.0	100.0%
Knows enough now (N=120)	25.8%	25.0	49.2	100.0%

* Reasons were asked after the questions reported in Table 6.10.

** See Appendix B for index of voting likelihood. "None" means that they were very likely not to vote at all.

Table 6.17. Saliency of Available Rationales to Voting Decision for Voters in City D. *

<u>RATIONALE</u>	<u>PROPORTIONS OF VOTERS WHO FOUND RATIONALE SALIENT**</u>
Seemed a really intelligent opinion	32.6%
Confirmed what already thought	38.1%
Seemed an opinion most people share	41.7%
Seemed a really good explanation	43.6%

- * In answer to the questions: "In making up your mind about the school bond election, did something you heard or read:
- tend to confirm what you already thought?
 - seem to you to be a really intelligent opinion?
 - seem to you to be an opinion that most people share?
 - seem to you to be a really good explanation of what the election was all about?"

** N=306.

Table 6.18. Likelihood of Voting "Yes" by Saliency of Available Rationales to Voting Decision, for Voters in City D. *

<u>RATIONALE</u>	<u>LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING "YES":</u>			<u>Totals</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>None**</u>	
Seemed a really intelligent opinion (N=98)	34.7%	30.6	34.7	100.0%
Confirmed what already thought (N=116)	29.3%	34.5	36.2	100.0%
Seemed an opinion most people share (N=127)	26.8%	36.2	37.0	100.0%
Seemed a really good explanation (N=133)	27.8%	24.8	47.4	100.0%

* Question on saliency of rationales is reported in Table 6.17.

** See Appendix B for index of voting likelihood. "None" means they are very likely not to vote at all.

Topics of Discussion

The husbands we interviewed in City E talk more than their wives on topics of school leadership, school costs, building needs, courses given or needed, and sports -- as reported in Table 6.19. Differences of 6% are significant at the .05 level. These are estimates made in answer to suggested categories, which probably accounts for the rather high proportions. The differences should stand up; the circumstances were the same for husbands and wives.

As Table 6.20 shows, there is probably inflation in the numbers of persons talked to -- although no time limit was imposed by the question. The principal difference between husbands and wives is that the husbands talk more often with someone at work, the wives with someone connected with the schools.

The various concerns of husband and wife are shown in Table 6.21 where the topics husbands discuss at work are compared with the topics wives discuss with someone connected with the schools. The husbands are higher on school costs, building needs, and sports. The wives are higher on student behavior, student accomplishments, special programs or events, and special student services. Differences of 3% are significant at the .05 level.

The differences seen above would not seem to indicate that schools have unique problems of communication with husbands and wives on the subject matter of communication. Previously noted characteristics of parenthood, attitude, sense of efficacy, level of participation, and kind of participation appear to be more important than the sex differentiation for school communicators.

* * * * *

Table 6.19. Topics of Conversation about School Matters by Sex, for Voters in City E.*

<u>TOPIC OF CONVERSATION</u>	<u>SEX:</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Quality of school leadership	47.9%	41.5%
School costs	68.6	55.9
School building needs	69.7	60.8
Student behavior	79.7	82.3
Student accomplishments	74.7	77.3
Teacher behavior	58.2	59.2
Quality of teaching	66.1	64.5
Courses given or needed	58.1	51.0
Sports	67.1	55.1
Special programs or events	51.6	56.3
Special student services	38.9	35.1
Others (Miscellaneous)	6.7	5.8
N:	(732)	(732)

* In answer to the question: "We would like to ask you now the kinds of school matters you've been talking about lately. . . ." (The topics above were listed for their convenience.)

Table 6.20. Types of Persons Talked with about School Matters by Sex, for Voters in City E.*

<u>TYPE OF PERSON TALKED WITH</u>	<u>SEX:</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Spouse	29.4%	28.7%
Own child in school	12.4	13.3
Other relative	9.5	11.0
Friend or neighbor	15.2	19.8
Someone at work	14.7	5.5
Someone connected with the schools	8.7	11.5
Someone at club or in a social gathering	5.6	6.1
Child of a friend or neighbor	2.4	3.0
Other (Miscellaneous)	2.1	1.1
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:	(13408)	(11958)

* In answer to the question reported in Table 6.19, supplemented by: "With whom have you been talking about each of these topics?"

** N is total number of contacts made.

Table 6.21. Topics of Conversation about School Matters by Men with Someone at Work and by Women with Someone Connected with Schools, for Voters in City E.*

<u>TOPIC OF CONVERSATION</u>	<u>MEN AT WORK</u>	<u>WOMEN AT SCHOOL</u>
Quality of school leadership	5.9%	6.2%
School costs	13.5	6.3
School building needs	12.5	8.9
Student behavior	13.7	17.2
Student accomplishments	10.6	15.6
Teacher behavior	5.0	6.8
Quality of teaching	10.3	10.2
Courses given or needed	7.7	8.8
Sports	12.1	4.1
Special programs or events	4.3	8.3
Special student services	2.8	6.0
Others (Miscellaneous)	1.6	1.6
N:**	100.0% (1979)	100.0% (1378)

* Questions previously reported in Table 6.19 and 6.20.

** N is total number of contacts made.

Flow of Communication

The content analysis we made of school communications, newspapers, and voter communications for bond issue relevant material in City D focused on the needs expressed, the reasons for the needs, and the estimated cost of the needs. The voters, we found, rarely talked about costs except in terms of what it would cost them; analyses of item costs were completely absent in the discussions reported to us. The following tables similarly show little evidence that voters assessed particulars of the bond issue. This does not mean they were unaware of the particulars; many of the rationalizations for opposing the issue center on one or two aspects, however pervasive the opposition to the issue as a whole. But the results show two major processes at work in communications behavior -- one a characteristic of the voters, the other a characteristic of the schools:

1. Voters discussed the bond issue in very general terms, both as to needs and reasons, even though schools and newspapers commonly differentiated the type of need, in which schools it was wanted, and the various reasons for it.

2. Schools concentrated more on general needs as the election approached.

About half of the types of need the schools talked about were clearly specified, as shown in Table 6.22. About two-fifths of the newspaper content also specified particular types of need. Among the voters, however, less than a fourth of their communications dealt with particulars -- and these were largely about new

schools and additional classrooms. This relationship and those which follow are significant at the .05 level.

Table 6.22. Type of Bond Issue Needs Expressed in City D, by Place of Appearance. *

TYPE OF NEED	PLACE OF APPEARANCE:		
	<u>School Communication</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Voter Communication</u>
Overall need	42.7%	51.8%	77.0%
New schools	10.9	14.9	11.8
Additional classrooms	8.2	8.0	7.2
Cafeterias, stage facilities	5.1	2.0	1.1
Renovations	6.0	2.0	---
Ground improvements	5.1	3.1	1.1
Swimming pools	5.1	.9	---
Off-street parking	.9	.9	---
Darkening curtains for audio-visual rooms	.9	---	---
Administration building	5.1	3.9	---
Type of need unspecified	10.0	12.5	1.8
N:**	100.0% (659)	100.0% (635)	100.0% (287)

* From a content analysis of internal and external communications of the schools, of two local newspapers, and of 306 voters' communications.

** N is total number of coded elements.

By area of need, the lack of differentiation among voters is even more striking, as shown in Table 6.23. Only a few percent of the voters reported talking about the schools' needs in terms of elementary, secondary, or administrative wants. The newspapers appear to have equalized the attention devoted to elementary, junior high, and senior high; the schools gave more emphasis to senior high needs.

The newspapers, as well as the voters, tended to generalize the reasons for favoring the bond issue. Table 6.24 shows, nevertheless, that fewer reasons are reported by the voters from their communications. Four-fifths of the voters' reasons are as general as could be imagined, while only three-fifths of the school communications concentrate in these two categories. The schools' attempts to show fiscal responsibility are not repeated by the voters, and infrequently by the newspapers.

Not many statements were made about the election itself, but differences are obvious, as shown in Table 6.25. The schools were concerned about getting out the vote, carrying on their campaign, and telling voters about the election itself. The newspapers gave more attention to the election itself, especially the mechanics of voting. *The voters had much different concerns; they speculated about the election, noted that they should vote, and some still wondered about the needs of the schools.*

As shown in Tables 6.26 and 6.27, the approach of the election meant greater emphasis on the overall need of the schools, irrespective of type or area of need. Only new schools as a type of need goes against this trend.

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Table 6.23. Area of Bond Issue Needs Expressed in City D, by Place of Appearance.*

<u>AREA OF NEED</u>	<u>PLACE OF APPEARANCE:</u>		
	<u>School Communication</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Voter Communication</u>
Overall need	42.7%	51.8%	77.0%
Elementary schools	9.9	11.9	1.7
Junior high schools	13.8	11.4	---
Senior high schools	18.8	10.8	1.1
Junior college	3.0	4.7	---
Administration building, darkening curtains	6.8	4.0	---
Area of need unspecified	5.0	5.4	20.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(659)	(635)	(287)

* From a content analysis of internal and external communications of the schools, of two local newspapers, and of 306 voters' communications.

** N is total number of coded elements.

Table 6.24. Reasons Expressed Favorable to Bond Issue Needs in City D, by Place of Appearance.*

<u>REASONS EXPRESSED</u>	<u>PLACE OF APPEARANCE:</u>		
	<u>School Communication</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Voter Communication</u>
General approval	12.7%	39.2%	31.1%
To meet building needs	51.0	38.6	49.6
To maintain standards	10.2	4.3	13.6
To reach higher standards	8.6	---	1.5
Schools are careful in using money	3.0	2.2	---
Schools will try to save money on this bond issue	5.2	1.9	---
To fulfill educational ideals	6.5	9.7	3.3
Needs are not beyond reason	2.8	4.1	.9
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:**	(502)	(372)	(215)

* From a content analysis of internal and external communications of the schools, of two local newspapers, and of 306 voters' communications.

** N is total number of coded elements.

Table 6.25. Statements Relevant to Election in City D but not to Bond Issue Needs, by Place of Appearance.

STATEMENT	PLACE OF APPEARANCE:		
	<u>School Communication</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Voter Communication</u>
How election will come out, prediction that it would pass or fail, how it came out	5.6%	8.6%	40.7%
Be sure to vote	.8	6.0	38.9
Need explanation of where needs are	---	---	9.2
Misapprehension that bond money will go for teachers' salaries	.8	---	1.9
Poor presentation of campaign on part of schools	---	---	1.9
Get out the vote (or schools will lose)	15.1	1.7	---
Money needed for campaign, call for workers	11.1	---	---
Mechanics of voting: how, when, and where	66.6	82.0	7.4
Fate of schools is being decided	---	1.7	---
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:**	(126)	(117)	(54)

* From a content analysis of internal and external communications of the schools, of two local newspapers, and of 306 voters' communications.

** N is total number of coded elements.

Table 6.26. Type of Bond Issue Needs Expressed in City D, by Time of Appearance.*

TYPE OF NEED	TIME OF APPEARANCE:			
	Sept. 1 --Nov. 7, 1957	Nov. 8 --Jan. 7, 1958	Jan. 8 --Feb. 4, 1958	Feb. 5 --Feb. 18, 1958**
Overall need	12.4%	34.4%	56.2%	53.8%
New schools	10.6	10.7	16.2	13.2
Additional classrooms	13.3	9.6	5.9	7.1
Cafeterias, stage facilities	8.0	3.0	2.9	3.1
Renovations	12.4	7.4	2.9	1.0
Ground improvements	10.6	6.4	3.2	2.9
Swimming pools	9.7	5.0	2.1	.7
Off-street parking	3.5	1.0	.9	1.0
Darkening curtains for audio-visual rooms	3.5	.7	.9	---
Administration building	5.4	8.4	3.8	3.1
Type of need unspecified	<u>10.6</u>	<u>13.4</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>14.1</u>
N:***	100.0% (113)	100.0% (299)	100.0% (340)	100.0% (418)

* From a content analysis of internal and external communications of the schools and of two local newspapers.

** Feb. 18th was the election date.

***N is total number of coded elements, not including post-election content.

Table 6.27. Area of Bond Issue Need Expressed in City D, by Time of Appearance. *

<u>AREA OF NEED</u>	TIME OF APPEARANCE:			
	Sept. 1 --Nov. 7, 1957	Nov. 8 --Jan. 7, 1958	Jan. 8 --Feb. 4, 1958	Feb. 5 --Feb. 18, 1958**
Overall need	12.4%	34.4%	56.2%	53.8%
Elementary schools	16.8	14.4	8.8	7.6
Junior high schools	20.4	16.6	11.8	8.9
Senior high schools	30.1	16.3	10.9	13.6
Junior college	2.7	5.0	2.0	5.0
Administration building, darkening curtains	11.5	10.3	4.7	4.2
Area of need unspecified	6.1	3.0	5.6	6.9
N:***	100.0% (113)	100.0% (299)	100.0% (340)	100.0% (418)

* From a content analysis of internal and external communications of the schools and of two local newspapers.

** Feb. 18th was the election date.

***N is total number of coded elements, not including post-election content.

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, City D voters depend on the mass media and their family, friends, and neighbors for information about the schools. However, given their choice, they would much prefer to have personal contact with a school official. In their perception of sources of information, two-thirds of them would turn to school officials for information, but only a third of the voters nominate a school official as a well informed source. A seventh of the voters said they knew no well informed source. In discussing a local bond issue, voters listened to school representatives about a third of the time in their conversations. When they had something to say themselves, voters talked to persons like themselves in characteristics.

Viewing voter-school interaction in the context of bond issue voting behavior, it is clear that attitudes determine the likelihood of communication -- actual and potential -- with school people. Simply increasing the amount of information does not promise greater likelihood of favorable response. Indeed, those wanting information are more likely to be critical of the schools. This is most evident among voters who are concerned about curriculum. Voters who actively participate in school affairs but who have a low sense of the efficacy of their interest are also more likely to want more information. For voters as a whole, the areas in which information is most often wanted are: how schools are run, curriculum, and teaching methods. Voters in City B, the community in trouble, were most interested in knowing more about how the schools are run. From a fourth to a third of the voters in three cities said they wanted more

information.

Analysis of the reasons for wanting more information shows that City D voters who want the "right" information were least likely to vote "yes" or to vote at all. Those who wanted no more information because they knew enough already were just as likely to vote "yes" as voters who wanted more information. The few who wanted more information in order to be able to do something (they said) were not as likely to vote or vote "yes" as voters who said the topic was important or interesting. Those who wanted more information about curriculum were less likely to vote "yes."

A content analysis of school communications, newspaper stories, and voter communications during the period before a bond election in City D revealed that voters discussed the issues in the broadest of generalities -- of needs, reasons, and costs -- and discussed costs hardly at all. The schools' communication program before the election gradually changed from explanation of each element and its purpose toward a more general statement of needs and reasons.

In conclusion, we feel that little is to be gained from any simple attempt to increase the informational output of schools. Specific questions can, and should, be answered. Schools should be receptive to enquiries and attempts to understand. But the more effective use of communications requires a pair of necessary conditions: values in the audience that turn constructive attention toward the schools, and a social environment that facilitates participation -- if not directly in school affairs, then in active response to the need for understanding between schools and community.

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APPENDIX A

SAMPLES

All samples were selected from roles of registered voters in the five cities surveyed. Respondents were designated by a systematic sampling from a random start. On the basis of pretests, we estimated the designated samples necessary to produce the desired sample sizes and computed the sampling ratio needed. Sample sizes and completed interviews for each city are given below.

CITY A	Designated sample	1128
	Minus moved and deceased	99
	Total eligible sample	<u>1029</u>
	Refusals	131
	Not at home (after five calls)	49
	Total interviews completed	<u>849</u>
CITY B	Designated sample	1256
	Minus moved and deceased	268
	Total eligible sample	<u>988</u>
	Refusals	118
	Not at home (after five calls)	43
	Total interviews completed	<u>827</u>

CITY C

Designated sample	1276
Minus moved and deceased	345
Total eligible sample	<u>931</u>
Refusals	46
Not at home (after five calls)	37
Total interviews completed	<u>848</u>

CITY D

	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
Designated sample	395	395	395
Minus moved and deceased	87	110	88
Total eligible sample	<u>308</u>	<u>285</u>	<u>307</u>
Refused*	54	50	48
Not at home *	56	63	68
First stage interviews	212	204	216
Second stage interviews*	14	31	25

* A subsample of not at homes and refusals was drawn and interviewed after three calls in the first stage of interviewing. These responses were weighted according to the sampling ratios and used as estimates of uncompleted interviews.

<u>CITY E</u>	Designated sample	1194
	Minus moved and deceased	211
	Total eligible sample	<u>983</u>
	Refusals*	220
	Not at home (after five calls)	31
	Total interviews completed	<u>732</u>

- * Our refusal rate in City E was severely increased by the problems of obtaining cooperation from both husband and wife for the same appointment.

* * * * *

The following tables show characteristics of the various samples. Cities A, B, and C are presented together to show the differences in voter characteristics for three cities interviewed on the same topics at about the same time (March through May, 1959). City B is seen to have voters whose characteristics would argue support for the schools -- all except a low level of participation.

Table A.1, Sex-Age-Education Characteristics for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>SEX/AGE/EDUCATION</u>	CITY:		
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
Male-Young-Low	9.9%	13.9%	9.0%
Male-Young-High	20.5	25.2	15.7
Male-Old-Low	12.5	6.5	9.0
Male-Old-High	6.8	2.4	8.6
Female-Young-Low	10.1	11.0	11.5
Female-Young-High	23.0	30.3	24.3
Female-Old-Low	10.2	6.3	10.6
Female-Old-High	4.3	2.8	10.2
Not ascertained	2.7	1.6	1.1
N:	<u>100.0%</u> (849)	<u>100.0%</u> (827)	<u>100.0%</u> (848)

* Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above.

Table A.2. Child's Status in School for Voters in Three Cities.

VOTER HAS. . .	CITY:		
	A	B	C
No children	17.5%	13.8%	24.8%
Children, not in school	39.6	26.8	38.7
Children, in public school	34.3	50.4	30.9
Children, in private school	8.6	9.0	5.6
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)

Table A.3. Length of Residence in Community for Voters in Three Cities.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	CITY:		
	A	B	C
0-9 years	16.6%	65.8%	19.6%
10-19 years	14.3	18.4	24.0
20-29 years	19.1	3.7	17.9
30-39 years	31.1	6.0	20.0
40 years or more	18.4	5.2	18.5
Not ascertained	.5	.9	---
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)

Table A.4. Occupation of Main Wage Earner in Family for Voters in Three Cities.

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	CITY:		
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
Professional or technical	10.0%	6.9%	22.0%
Proprietor or managerial	11.0	12.5	18.3
Clerical or sales	12.8	18.9	20.4
Skilled worker	19.3	33.8	9.4
Semi-skilled worker	15.3	10.0	5.8
Unskilled worker	17.2	7.4	2.4
Service worker	2.7	5.2	10.3
Retired or unemployed	10.0	3.6	9.2
Not ascertained	1.7	1.7	2.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(849)	(827)	(848)

Table A.5. Utility of Local Schools for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>UTILITY OF LOCAL SCHOOLS</u>	CITY:		
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
Poor times, Poor schools	31.5%	33.2%	67.3%
Good times, Poor schools	28.6	12.1	7.6
Poor times, Good schools	9.1	29.6	18.1
Good times, Good schools	30.8	25.1	7.0
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:**	(271)	(223)	(315)

* Utility categories are the extreme entries in Table 3.1.

** Includes only those voters classified into the above categories of utility.

Table A.6. Form of Participation for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>FORM OF PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>CITY:</u>		
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
Inactive, uncommunicative	36.5%	57.9%	49.6%
Active, uncommunicative	13.3	6.2	1.7
Inactive, communicative	4.5	7.9	20.2
Active, communicative	45.7	28.0	28.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:**	(444)	(432)	(480)

* Forms of participation are the extreme entries in Table 2.13.

** Includes only those voters classified into the above categories of forms of participation.

Table A.7. Efficacy/Participation Discrepancies for Voters in Three Cities.*

<u>EFFICACY/PARTICIPATION</u>	<u>CITY:</u>		
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
Low participation, low efficacy	29.9%	34.9%	33.0%
Low participation, high efficacy	13.0	31.6	26.3
High participation, low efficacy	13.9	7.6	9.0
High participation, high efficacy	43.2	25.9	31.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N:**	(301)	(301)	(300)

* Efficacy/Participation categories are the extreme entries in Table 4.6.

** Includes only those voters classified into the above categories of efficacy/participation discrepancies.

Table A.8. Sex-Age-Education Characteristics for Voters in City D and City E.*

<u>SEX/AGE/EDUCATION</u>	CITY:	
	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
Male-Young-Low	5.6%	5.7%
Male-Young-High	16.3	26.7
Male-Old-Low	13.6	8.0
Male-Old-High	7.8	7.4
Female-Young-Low	9.0	6.1
Female-Young-High	21.9	30.8
Female-Old-Low	11.8	4.2
Female-Old-High	9.2	6.1
Not ascertained	4.8	5.0
	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(900)	(1464)

* Age is split at fifty; education is split at high school or above.

Table A.9. Child's Status in School for Voters in City D and City E.

<u>VOTER HAS. . .</u>	CITY:	
	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
No children	15.2%	40.7%*
Children, not in school	35.9	
Children, in public school	36.9	47.8
Children, in private school	1.8	9.0
Not ascertained	10.2	2.5
	100.0%	100.0%
N:	(900)	(732)

* Not differentiated in City E between no children and children out of school.

Table A.10. Length of Residence in Community for Voters in City D.

<u>LENGTH OF RESIDENCE</u>	<u>CITY D</u>
0-9 years	24.7%
10-19 years	25.6
20-29 years	12.1
30-39 years	17.9
40 years or more	17.6
Not ascertained	2.1
	<u>100.0%</u>
N:	(900)

Table A.11. Occupation of Main Wage Earner in Family for Voters in City D and City E.

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>CITY:</u>	
	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
Professional or technical	8.3%	11.7%
Proprietor or managerial	15.0	16.4
Clerical or sales	13.3	18.7
Skilled worker	16.2	23.0
Semi-skilled worker	12.9	14.8
Unskilled worker	11.8	2.3
Service worker	4.1	5.1
Retired or unemployed	13.8	4.5
Not ascertained	4.6	3.5
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N:	(900)	(732)

APPENDIX B

INDEXES

Evaluation of Local Schools

1. Does it seem to you that the children play too much in the local schools?
2. On the whole, would you say that the schools here in _____ are doing a good job?
3. Are there a lot of sugar-coating and frills in the schools here, would you say?
4. As you see it, does going to school seem to be a waste of time for many of the local youngsters?
5. How do you compare to the average person you know on what you think about the local schools? Would you say you favor them more than the average person, less than the average person, or about the same as the average person you know?

<u>CITY</u>	<u>Reproducibility</u>	COEFFICIENT OF:	
		<u>Scalability (Items)</u>	<u>Scalability (individuals)</u>
A	.938	.777	.779
B	.948	.729	.779
C	.917	.708	.680
D (Before election)	.908		
(After election)	.897		
E	.929	.750	.739

Evaluation of School Costs

1. In your opinion, could savings be made in the overall cost of operating the schools?
2. How much money do you think is wasted in construction of new school buildings?
3. Do you think some of the increase in costs of schools is due to frills or unnecessary courses?
4. What kind of job do you think the schools in _____ are doing as far as overall costs are concerned?

<u>CITY</u>	<u>COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY</u>	<u>CHANCE REPRODUCIBILITY</u>
D (Before election)	.933	.884
D (After election)	.922	.884

Pride in Local Schools

1. Is there anything about the local schools that you're particularly proud of?
2. How proud of the local schools would you say you are compared to the average person you know? Would you say that your pride in the local schools is more than the average person's, less than the average person's, or about the same as the average person's?

Economic Consequences of Election.

1. If this bond issue in February were to pass, how much do you think it would affect you compared to the average person you know? Would it cost you more than the average person, less than the average person, or about the same as the average person?
2. Generally speaking, would you say that taxes are already as high as they ought to go?
3. Do you feel that your own tax load is too much of a burden for what you get in return?

4. Does it look to you as if we are in for some bad times just ahead?

<u>CITY</u>	<u>COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY</u>	<u>CHANCE REPRODUCIBILITY</u>
D (Before election)	.953	.910
D (After election)	.957	.937

Perceived Economic Condition

1. Some people feel that schools cost them more than the average person. Would you say that the local schools cost you more than the average person, less than the average person, or about the same as the average person?

2. Same as (2) under Economic Consequences.

3. Same as (3) under Economic Consequences.

4. Does it look to you as if business conditions in the next twelve months will be better, worse, or about the same as the last twelve months?

<u>CITY</u>	<u>Reproducibility</u>	<u>COEFFICIENT OF:</u>	
		<u>Scalability (items)</u>	<u>Scalability (individuals)</u>
A	.972	.878	.908
B	.952	.836	.833
C	.935	.755	.725
E	.941	.813	.754

Evaluation of Teachers

1. In your opinion, are teachers better trained now than they used to be?

2. Does it ever seem to you that people want to give the teacher a job they don't want to do themselves?

3. In your opinion, are teachers worked harder than most other people?

4. Compared to the average person you know, what is your opinion of the kind of job that teachers are doing? Is your opinion of teachers higher than the average person's, lower than the average person's, or about the same as the average person's?

<u>CITY</u>	<u>COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY</u>	<u>CHANCE REPRODUCIBILITY</u>
D (Before election)	.908	.868
D (After election)	.892	.858

Evaluation of 3 R's

1. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to read?

2. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to spell?

3. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to write?

4. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to figure out basic arithmetic problems?

<u>CITY</u>	<u>COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY</u>	<u>CHANCE REPRODUCIBILITY</u>
D (Before election)	.956	.842
D (After election)	.942	.851

Evaluation of Community

1. How often have you found it necessary to go outside of town for something you wanted?

2. Does it ever seem to you that the local schools are going off in a different direction from the rest of the community?

3. In your opinion, would this be a good town to start a business in?

<u>CITY</u>	<u>COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY</u>	<u>CHANCE REPRODUCIBILITY</u>
D (Before election)	.929	.849
D (After election)	.930	.905

Immediate Rewards from Education

1. In your opinion, how important is it to learn specific subjects in school?
2. In your opinion, do students learn in school what will help them when they graduate and look for a job?
3. In your opinion, from what you see of the young people today, are schools accomplishing very much?
4. Do you have any children?

<u>CITY</u>	<u>COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY</u>	<u>CHANCE REPRODUCIBILITY</u>
D (Before election)	.948	.907
D (After election)	.933	.915

Anti-intellectualism

1. More money should be spent building churches instead of libraries. (agree or disagree)
2. A person with good horse sense can go a lot farther than a guy with a fancy college education. (agree or disagree)
3. Learning the three R's -- reading, writing, and arithmetic -- is enough for most people. (agree or disagree)

<u>CITY</u>	<u>COEFFICIENT OF REPRODUCIBILITY</u>	<u>CHANCE REPRODUCIBILITY</u>
D (Before election)	.946	.907
D (After election)	.921	.878

Communicated Interest

1. How often have you talked about the local schools with a neighbor?
2. How often can you recall talking to someone recently about some problem in the local schools?
3. Have you read something about the local schools recently which you suggested that a friend or member of the family read?
4. Can you recall criticizing anything lately that the schools did -- or didn't do?
5. How often have you discussed with a friend or member of your family how the local schools compare with other school systems?
6. How interested in the local schools would you say you are, compared to the average person you know? Would you say your interest is more, less, or about the same as the average person's?

<u>CITY</u>	<u>Reproducibility</u>	COEFFICIENT OF:	
		<u>Scalability (items)</u>	<u>Scalability (individuals)</u>
A	.927	.782	.673
B	.928	.774	.698
C	.893	.660	.432
D (Before election)	.932		
(After election)	.916		
E	.910	.734	.640

Direct Participation

1. Since completing your education, how often have you visited public schools or attended school functions?
2. How often have you attended meetings of school organizations like the PTA?
3. How often have you talked by phone or in person with a school official or teacher?

4. How often in the past year have matters concerning the schools crossed your mind?

<u>CITY</u>	<u>Reproducibility</u>	COEFFICIENT OF:	
		<u>Scalability (Items)</u>	<u>Scalability (Individuals)</u>
A	.960	.876	.824
B	.970	.908	.856
C	.960	.896	.776
D (Before election)	.960		
(After election)	.934		
E	.968	.909	.816

Efficacy of Participation

1. I don't think public school officials care much what people like me think.
(agree or disagree)

2. Voting is the only way that people like me have anything to say about how their schools are run. (agree or disagree)

3. People like me don't have much say about what the schools do. (agree or disagree)

4. Sometimes educational policy seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. (agree or disagree)

<u>CITY</u>	<u>Reproducibility</u>	COEFFICIENT OF	
		<u>Scalability (Items)</u>	<u>Scalability (Individuals)</u>
A	.910	.785	.527
B	.900	.737	.527
C	.893	.660	.432
D (Before election)	.912		
(After election)	.896		
E	.919	.792	.555

Voting Preference and Likelihood

1. (Before election) How do you think you will vote in the coming school bond election: Will you vote yes or no?

... (After election) How did you vote in the school bond election: Did you vote yes or no?

2. At which polling place do (did) you vote? Knows place.

3. Did you vote in the last school tax election?

4. Compared to the average person you know, how likely is it that you will vote in the coming (next) school bond election? Would you say you are more likely than average, less likely than average, or about as likely as the average person to vote? More likely than average.

Item (1) is the measure of preference used in Chapter One. The other items were indexed to provide a measure of voting likelihood for tabulations reported in Chapter One and for the measure of voting likelihood used in the Chapter Six analysis. The responses underlined after items (2) and (4) were taken as the positive answers.

APPENDIX C
QUESTIONNAIRES

Cities A, B, and C: Interviewer's copy of questionnaire.

City D: Interviewer's copy of attitudinal questionnaire.

City D: Interviewer's copy of communication questionnaire.

City E: Interviewer's copy of couples questionnaire.

City E: Individual questionnaire.

(Respondent copies of questionnaires are not given. They are similar to interviewer copies, with the deletion of instructions to interviewer and recording forms. Copies are available from the Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University.)

Stanford University

The Goals of Education

We are conducting a national survey of public opinion about local schools. _____ has been chosen as one of the cities in which we are interviewing registered voters..

The results of this survey are expected to give your local school authorities your ideas on what the local schools should be doing. In addition, you will be contributing to an expression of national opinion.

We need your frank, honest answers to our questions. Nothing you say will be quoted over your name.

Our survey consists of two parts. In this first part, we would like you to look over these cards we have here. On each card we have printed a statement which expresses one of the opinions often heard about what the schools should be emphasizing. We would like you to read each card. Then tell us how important you think each of these is.

To help us move along, we have five possible answers printed on these larger sheets.

Spread A Sheets with response categories in order on table.

Now if you'll place each card on one of these sheets, we can finish this part fairly quickly. I'll record your answers from where you place the cards.

Use example.

Hand Blue cards to respondent. Record answers in Col. 1, page 2.

Hand Yellow cards to respondent. Record answers in Col. 1, page 2.

Hand White cards to respondent. Record answers in Col. 1, page 3.

Next we would like you to go through these cards again. This time we want you to tell us how well you think the local schools are doing in each of these areas. We have some new answer sheets to use.

Spread B Sheets with response categories in order on table. Shuffle the cards before giving each color back to respondent. Also shuffle after receiving them back at close -- before using in next interview.

Hand Blue cards to respondent. Record answers in Col. 2, page 2.

Hand Yellow cards to respondent. Record answers in Col. 2, page 2.

Hand White cards to respondent. Record answers in Col. 2, page 3.

Name _____ Address _____
 Date _____ Interviewer _____

Blue, Column 1

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Answer</u>				
1	1	2	3	4	5
2	1	2	3	4	5
3	1	2	3	4	5
4	1	2	3	4	5
5	1	2	3	4	5
6	1	2	3	4	5
7	1	2	3	4	5
8	1	2	3	4	5
9	1	2	3	4	5
10	1	2	3	4	5
11	1	2	3	4	5
12	1	2	3	4	5
13	1	2	3	4	5
14	1	2	3	4	5
15	1	2	3	4	5
16	1	2	3	4	5

Yellow, Column 1

1	1	2	3	4	5
2	1	2	3	4	5
3	1	2	3	4	5
4	1	2	3	4	5
5	1	2	3	4	5

Blue, Column 2

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Answer</u>				
1	1	2	3	4	5
2	1	2	3	4	5
3	1	2	3	4	5
4	1	2	3	4	5
5	1	2	3	4	5
6	1	2	3	4	5
7	1	2	3	4	5
8	1	2	3	4	5
9	1	2	3	4	5
10	1	2	3	4	5
11	1	2	3	4	5
12	1	2	3	4	5
13	1	2	3	4	5
14	1	2	3	4	5
15	1	2	3	4	5
16	1	2	3	4	5

Yellow, Column 2

1	1	2	3	4	5
2	1	2	3	4	5
3	1	2	3	4	5
4	1	2	3	4	5
5	1	2	3	4	5

White, Column 1

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Answer</u>
1	1 2 3 4 5
2	1 2 3 4 5
3	1 2 3 4 5
4	1 2 3 4 5
5	1 2 3 4 5
6	1 2 3 4 5
7	1 2 3 4 5
8	1 2 3 4 5
9	1 2 3 4 5
10	1 2 3 4 5
11	1 2 3 4 5
12	1 2 3 4 5
13	1 2 3 4 5
14	1 2 3 4 5
15	1 2 3 4 5
16	1 2 3 4 5
17	1 2 3 4 5
18	1 2 3 4 5
19	1 2 3 4 5
20	1 2 3 4 5
21	1 2 3 4 5

White, Column 2

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Answer</u>
1	1 2 3 4 5
2	1 2 3 4 5
3	1 2 3 4 5
4	1 ^a 2 3 4 5
5	1 2 3 4 5
6	1 2 3 4 5
7	1 2 3 4 5
8	1 2 3 4 5
9	1 2 3 4 5
10	1 2 3 4 5
11	1 2 3 4 5
12	1 2 3 4 5
13	1 2 3 4 5
14	1 2 3 4 5
15	1 2 3 4 5
16	1 2 3 4 5
17	1 2 3 4 5
18	1 2 3 4 5
19	1 2 3 4 5
20	1 2 3 4 5
21	1 2 3 4 5

Part Two contains a number of questions about the situation in _____ as you see it. We also have some questions about your activities and interests. We have a copy for you of the questions we are going to ask.

Give Respondent Copy of Part II Questionnaire to respondent.

1. On the whole, would you say that the schools here in _____ are doing a good job?

not good at all _____; not very good _____; somewhat good _____;
pretty good _____; very good _____; don't know _____.

2. Does it seem to you that the children play too much in the local schools?

not at all _____; not very much _____; somewhat _____; pretty much _____;
very much _____; don't know _____.

3. Are there a lot of sugar-coating and frills in the schools here, would you say?

not at all _____; not very much _____; some _____; pretty much _____;
very much _____; don't know _____.

4. As you see it, does going to school seem to be a waste of time for many of the local youngsters?

not at all _____; not very much _____; somewhat _____; pretty much _____;
very much _____; don't know _____.

5. How do you compare with the average person you know on what you think about the local schools? Would you say you favor them more than the average person, less than the average person, or about the same as the average person you know?

more than the average person _____;
about the same as the average person _____;
less than the average person _____;
don't know _____.

6. Some people feel that schools cost them more than the average person. Would you say that the local schools cost you more than the average person, less than the average person, or about the same as the average person?

more than the average person: _____;
about the same as the average person _____;
less than the average person _____;
don't know _____.

7. Generally speaking, would you say that taxes are already as high as they ought to go?

not high at all _____; not very high _____; somewhat _____; pretty high _____;
very high _____; don't know _____.

8. Do you feel that your own tax load is too much of a burden for what you get in return?

not at all _____; not very much _____; somewhat _____; pretty much _____;
very much _____; don't know _____.

9. Does it look to you as if business conditions in the next twelve months will be better, worse, or about the same as the last twelve months?

better than the last 12 months _____;
about the same as the last 12 months _____;
worse than the last 12 months _____;
don't know _____.

10. In some national surveys, these next statements were made by some of the people interviewed. Would you agree or disagree with these statements?

a. I don't think public school officials care much what people like me think.
agree _____; disagree _____; don't know _____.

b. Voting is the only way that people like me have anything to say about how their schools are run. agree _____; disagree _____; don't know _____.

c. People like me don't have much say about what the schools do.
agree _____; disagree _____; don't know _____.

d. Sometimes educational policy seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. agree _____; disagree _____; don't know _____.

11. How often have you talked about the local schools with a neighbor?

not at all _____; not very often _____; sometimes _____; pretty often _____;
very often _____; don't know _____.

12. How often can you recall talking to someone recently about some problem in the local schools?

not at all _____; not very often _____; sometimes _____; pretty often _____;
very often _____; don't know _____.

13. Have you read something about the local schools recently which you suggested that a friend or member of the family read?

not at all _____; not very often _____; sometimes _____; pretty often _____;
very often _____; don't know _____.

14. Can you recall criticizing anything lately that the schools did -- or didn't do?

not at all _____; not very often _____; sometimes _____; pretty often _____;
very often _____; don't know _____.

15. How often have you discussed with a friend or a member of your family how the local schools compare with other school systems?

not at all _____; not very often _____; sometimes _____; pretty often _____;
very often _____; don't know _____.

16. How interested in the local schools would you say you are, compared to the average person you know? Would you say your interest is more, less, or about the same as the average person's?

more than the average person's _____;
about the same as the average person's _____;
less than the average person's _____;
don't know _____.

17. Since completing your education, how often have you visited public schools or attended school functions?

not at all _____; not very often _____; sometimes _____; pretty often _____;
very often _____; don't know _____.

18. How often have you attended meetings of school organizations like the PTA?

not at all _____; not very often _____; sometimes _____; pretty often _____;
very often _____; don't know _____.

19. How often have you talked by phone or in person with a school official or teacher?

not at all _____; not very often _____; sometimes _____; pretty often _____;
very often _____; don't know _____.

20. How often in the past year have matters concerning the schools crossed your mind?

not at all _____; not very often _____; sometimes _____; pretty often _____;
very often _____; don't know _____.

21. What satisfactions have you received from your participation in school affairs?
None _____

22. Would you tell us what three kinds of persons you think take the most active interest in school matters: None _____

23. Do you consider yourself the same kind of person as one of those you just named? Which ones? None _____

24. Is there anything about the local schools that you are particularly proud of?
What? No _____

25. Is there anything in particular concerning the local schools that you would like to know more about? What? No _____

26. What private individuals, groups or organizations in _____ do you see as helping the local public schools? None _____

27. What private individuals, groups or organizations in _____ do you see as hurting the local public schools? None _____

If "hurt" is perceived

In what way does this happen?

28. What criticisms of schools have you read recently in national magazines? None _____

29. Have you heard any good things about the local schools from other people recently? What? No _____

30. Have you heard any bad things about the local schools from other people recently? What? No _____

31. What non-school activities outside the home do you participate in regularly? None _____

32. How many years have you lived in _____? _____ yrs.

If less than 10 years.

Where was your previous residence?

Not applicable _____

New England _____; Middle Atlantic _____; North Central _____; Western _____;
Southern _____; Canada _____; other _____.

33. What was the last grade in school you finished?

1-7/____; 8/____; 9-11/____; 12/____; 13-15/____; 16 or more ____;
don't know ____.

34. What is the occupation of the main earner in this household?

professional____; managerial or business proprietor____;

clerical or sales____; craftsman or foreman____;

machine operator____; unskilled laborer____;

service worker____; unemployed____; retired____;

other:____.
(specify)

35. Have you ever been married? No____

☐ If Yes:

Do you have any children? How many? ____

36. Are any of your children in the _____ public schools? No____

☐ If Yes:

In what year of school?

Boys:

(Grade) K 1-2 3-4 5-6 7-8 9-10 11-12

Girls:

(Grade) K 1-2 3-4 5-6 7-8 9-10 11-12

37. Are any of your children in private or parochial schools?

No____; Yes____

☐ If Yes:

Would you mind telling us what your reasons are for
sending your child(ren) to a private school?

38. What is your age?

21-30____; 31-40____; 41-50____; 51-60____; 61 plus____

39. Indicate sex of respondent: Male _____; Female _____.

40. Before we leave, we would like to ask you if there is anything about the local schools which we haven't covered that you would like to tell us?

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

(Interviewer comments on page 10.)

Stanford University

School and Community Survey

Name: _____ Address: _____
Date of Interview: _____ Interviewer: _____
Reason not interviewed: _____

Hello, I'm from Stanford University. We're interviewing people all over _____
_____ today to find out what people think about the schools. I'd like to ask you a few
questions. . . .

Hand Respondent Copy of questionnaire to respondent.

Here are the questions and possible answers; so you can follow along as I read
them. Then just tell me which answer is closest to your own. . . .

1. In your opinion, how important is it to learn practical subjects in school?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

2. In your opinion, do students learn in school what will help them when they
graduate and look for a job?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ some; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

3. Do you think most people can afford education?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ some; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

4. Do you think it's true that the more schooling you have, the more money you
make?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

5. In your opinion, from what you see of the young people today, are schools
accomplishing very much?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ some; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

6. As you see it, do schools today seem to prepare children too much just for
college?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

7. How do you compare to the average person you know on what you think of education? Would you say that you value education:

_____less than average; _____about the same; _____more than average; _____D.K.

8. In the schools here, do you think the children are given a poor foundation for later life?

_____not at all; _____not very; _____somewhat; _____pretty; _____very; _____D.K.

9. Does it seem to you that the children play too much in the schools here?

_____not at all; _____not very; _____somewhat; _____pretty; _____very; _____D.K.

10. On the whole, would you say that the schools here are doing a good job?

_____not at all; _____not very; _____somewhat; _____pretty; _____very; _____D.K.

11. In your opinion, are the local schools better now than they used to be?

_____not at all; _____not very; _____somewhat; _____pretty; _____very; _____D.K.

12. Do you think the schools here are putting enough emphasis on the important things?

_____not at all; _____not very; _____some; _____pretty; _____very; _____D.K.

13. Is there a lot of sugar-coating or frills in the schools here, would you say?

_____not at all; _____not very; _____some; _____pretty; _____very; _____D.K.

14. As you see it, does going to school seem to be a waste of time for many of the local youngsters?

_____not at all; _____not very; _____somewhat; _____pretty; _____very; _____D.K.

15. How do you compare to the average person you know on what you think about the local schools? Would you say you favor the local schools:

_____less than average; _____about the same; _____more than average; _____D.K.

16. Since completing your education how often have you visited public schools or attended school functions?

_____not at all; _____not very; _____occasionally; _____pretty; _____very; _____D.K.

17. How often have you attended meetings of school organizations like the PTA?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

18. How often have you talked by phone or in person with a school official or teacher?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

19. How recent were most of your contacts with the schools?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

20. How often in the past year have matters concerning schools crossed your mind?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

21. How often have you talked about the _____ schools with a neighbor?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

22. How often can you recall talking to anyone recently about some problem in the local schools?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

23. How often do you read something about the _____ schools to members of your family?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

24. Have you read something about the local schools recently which you suggested that a friend or member of the family read?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

25. Can you recall criticizing anything recently that the _____ schools did -- or didn't do?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

26. How often have you discussed with a friend or a member of your family how the local schools compare with other schools?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

27. How interested in the local schools would you say you are, compared to the average person you know? Would you say your interest is:

_____ less than average; _____ about the same; _____ more than average; _____ D.K.

Explain that the stars on Respondent Copy mean that no specific answer is called for by the next question -- which you will read to him (her).

28. Is there anything about the local schools that you're particularly proud of?

_____ No; _____ Yes; _____ D.K.

If "YES":

What? Anything else? _____

29. How proud of the local schools would you say you are compared to the average person you know? Would you say that your pride in the local schools is:

_____ less than average; _____ about the same; _____ more than average; _____ D.K.

30. As far as you are concerned, which of these next statements are correct, and which are not correct:

	<u>Correct</u>	<u>N.C.</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a. I hear quite a bit about what goes on in the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
b. I read quite a bit about what goes on in the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
c. I talk quite a bit about what goes on in the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
d. I've written letters or articles about what goes on in the schools here.	_____	_____	_____

31. How much do you read and talk about what goes on in the local schools compared to the average person you know? Would you say that you read and talk:

_____ less than average; _____ about the same; _____ more than average; _____ D.K.

32. Without looking back over the questions you've already answered, which one of those questions seemed to mean the most to you as you remember them? (Ascertain the question number).

33. In your opinion are teachers better trained now than they used to be?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ somewhat; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

34. Do teachers seem to keep good discipline?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ somewhat; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

35. Does it ever seem to you that people want to give the teacher a job they don't want to do themselves?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ occasionally; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

36. In your opinion, are teachers worked any harder than most other people?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ somewhat; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

37. Compared to the average person you know, what is your opinion of the kind of job that teachers are doing? Is your opinion of teachers:

___ lower than average; ___ about the same; ___ higher than average; ___ D.K.

38. Considering the growth in population that is predicted, is there anything that can be done to hold down the over-all costs of education?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ some; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

39. In your opinion, could savings be made in the over-all cost of operating the schools?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ some; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

40. How much money do you think is being wasted in construction of new school buildings?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ some; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

41. Do you think some of the increase in costs of schools is due to frills or unnecessary courses?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

42. What kind of a job do you think the schools in _____ are doing as far as overall costs are concerned?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

43. In general, do you think it necessary that you have to be interested in the welfare of others in the community?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

44. How often have you found it necessary to go outside of town for something you wanted?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

45. Does it ever seem to you that the local schools are going off in a different direction from the rest of the community?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

46. Do people you know talk much about community-wide problems?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

47. In your opinion, would this be a good town to start a business in?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

48. What seems to be the job situation in _____: how hard is it to find a job?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

49. Do you know who the superintendent of schools for _____ is? _____

50. Of the following situations, which do you feel would be likely to occur if the teachers in the _____ schools were not given regular raises in their salaries?
(Check any number)

- a. _____ large classes resulting in less attention for the students
- b. _____ large classes with too many distractions from the study material

- c. _____ poorer training on the part of the teachers
- d. _____ a lack of personnel to handle special problems, such as counseling and vocational advising
- e. _____ fewer special courses, such as for hard-of-hearing, slow students
- f. _____ fewer programs put on by the students for the community
- g. _____ less participation by teachers in community affairs
- h. _____ none of the above

51. Of those you have mentioned, which do you think would be the worst situation?

_____ a; _____ b; _____ c; _____ d; _____ e; _____ f; _____ g; _____ D.K.; _____ Not applicable

52. As far as you are concerned, which of these next statements are correct, and which are not correct?

	<u>Correct</u>	<u>N.C.</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a. I hear quite a bit about the financial problems of the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
b. I read quite a bit about the financial problems of the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
c. I talk quite a bit about the financial problems of the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
d. I've written letters or articles about the financial problems of the schools here.	_____	_____	_____

53. How much do you read and talk about the financial problems of the schools here compared to the average person you know? Would you say you read and talk:

_____ less than average; _____ about the same; _____ more than average; _____ D.K.

54. We wanted to know earlier which one of the questions had meant the most to you up to that time. Now, of those questions since I asked this same kind of question before, did any one of the questions seem to mean more to you as you remember them? (Ascertain the question number.)

55. Now I'd like to ask you about the school bond election coming up on February 18. If economic conditions became worse than now, do you think that would affect your opinions about school bond issues?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ some; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

56. Did you ever change your mind about the bond issue from the time you heard about it until now?

___no; ___yes; ___D.K.

57. Do you think improvements in education in the future might affect your opinions?

___not at all; ___not very; ___some; ___pretty; ___very; ___D.K.

58. In general, how firmly would you say your mind is made up on the subject of schools?

___not at all; ___not very; ___somewhat; ___pretty; ___very; ___D.K.

59. In some national studies these next statements were made by some of the people interviewed. Would you agree or disagree with these statements:

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.	___	___	___
b. Voting is the only way that people like me have anything to say about how their schools are run.	___	___	___
c. People like me don't have much say about what the schools do.	___	___	___
d. Sometimes educational policy seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.	___	___	___

60. If this bond issue in February were to pass, how much do you think it would affect you compared to the average person you know? Would it cost you:

___less than average; ___about the same; ___more than average; ___D.K.

61. Generally speaking, would you say that taxes are already as high as they ought to go?

___not at all; ___not very; ___somewhat; ___pretty; ___very; ___D.K.

62. Do you feel that your own tax load is too much of a burden for what you get in return?

___not at all; ___not very; ___somewhat; ___pretty; ___very; ___D.K.

63. Do school taxes seem to have gone up quite a bit in recent years?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ somewhat; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

64. Does it look to you as if we are in for some bad times just ahead?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ somewhat; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

65. Do you think the school people now seem to do things the way you are used to doing them in this community?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ somewhat; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

66. As you see it, does there seem to be quite a bit of delinquency among the young people in _____?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ some; ___ pretty; ___ very much; ___ D.K.

67. Is this bond issue asking for too fast a change?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ somewhat; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

68. Would you say this community is accustomed to taking things slowly?

___ not at all; ___ not very; ___ somewhat; ___ pretty; ___ very; ___ D.K.

69. Compared to the average person you know, how conservative would you say you are?

___ less than average; ___ about the same; ___ more than average; ___ D.K.

70. As far as you are concerned, which of these next statements are correct, and which are not correct?

	<u>Correct</u>	<u>Not Correct</u>	<u>D. K.</u>
a. I hear quite a bit about the coming school bond election.	___	___	___
b. I read quite a bit about the coming school bond election.	___	___	___
c. I talk quite a bit about the coming school bond election.	___	___	___
d. I've written letters or articles about the coming school bond election.	___	___	___

71. How much would you say that you read and talk about the coming school bond election compared to the average person you know? Would you say you read and talk:

_____ less than average; _____ about the same; _____ more than average; _____ D.K.

72. I'd like to ask you again now which of these last questions seems to mean the most to you. As you remember back to the last time I asked this question, which question meant the most to you? (Ascertain the question number.)

73. What kinds of people, in your estimation, support this bond issue? Any others?

74. What kinds of people, in your estimation, oppose this bond issue? Any others?

75. Can you tell me some of the bad things about the schools that you have heard from other people recently? Anything else?

76. Can you tell me some of the good things about schools that you have heard from other people recently? Anything else?

77. Are you registered to vote in the coming school bond election?

_____ yes; _____ no; _____ D.K.

If "YES" to Q. 77:

a. At which polling place do you vote? _____

78. Did you vote in the last school tax election? _____ yes; _____ no; _____ D.K.

79. How did you vote: yes or no? ____yes; ____no; ____D.K.

80. Compared to the average person you know, how likely is it that you will vote in the coming school bond election? Would you say:

____less likely than average; ____about the same; ____more likely than average;
____D.K.

81. How do you think you will vote in the coming school bond election: Will you vote yes or no?

____yes; ____no; ____D.K.; ____not registered.

82. As far as you are concerned, which of these next statements are correct, and which are not correct?

	<u>Correct</u>	<u>Not Correct</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a. I hear people tell me how they would vote in the school bond election.	_____	_____	_____
b. I read people's opinions on how they would vote in the school bond election.	_____	_____	_____
c. I tell other people how I would vote in the school bond election.	_____	_____	_____
d. I write letters or articles on how I would vote in the school bond election.	_____	_____	_____

83. How much would you say that you read and talk about how people will vote in the coming school bond election compared to the average person you know? Would you say you read and talk:

____less than average; ____about the same; ____more than average; ____D.K.

84. In some recent surveys some people made these next statements. Do you agree or disagree with these statements:

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a. More money should be spent building churches instead of libraries.	_____	_____	_____
b. People who don't believe in God should not be allowed to teach in schools and colleges.	_____	_____	_____
c. A person with good horse sense can go a lot farther than a guy with a fancy college education.	_____	_____	_____

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
d. People who appreciate classical music and great literature usually enjoy life more than people who don't appreciate them.	_____	_____	_____
e. People in public office should have a college degree.	_____	_____	_____
f. College students should be deferred from the draft.	_____	_____	_____
g. Learning the three R's -- reading, writing, and arithmetic -- is enough for most people.	_____	_____	_____

85. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to read?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

86. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to spell?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

87. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to write?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

88. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to figure out basic arithmetic problems?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

89. Do you think the Russian earth satellites show us that we have to be able to change, and change fast?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

90. Do the Russian earth satellites mean that we are in danger?

_____ not at all; _____ not very; _____ somewhat; _____ pretty; _____ very; _____ D.K.

91. In general, would you say that the Russian earth satellites mean that man is closer to controlling the universe for the benefit of everyone?

____ not at all; ____ not very; ____ somewhat; ____ pretty; ____ very; ____ D.K.

92. How likely do you think it is that this bond issue will pass?

____ not at all; ____ not very; ____ somewhat; ____ pretty; ____ very; ____ D.K.

93. Does it seem to you that every part of the _____ school district is doing its share to support the schools?

____ not at all; ____ not very; ____ somewhat; ____ pretty; ____ very; ____ D.K.

94. Does it seem to you that every school in the _____ system gets an even break?

____ not at all; ____ not very; ____ somewhat; ____ pretty; ____ very; ____ D.K.

95. About how old are you? _____

96. What was the last grade you finished in school? (Circle number indicated)

to 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 or more

97. What groups or organizations are you a member of? Any others?

98. What newspapers do you read regularly? Any others?

99. What magazines do you read regularly? Any others?

100. Do you have a radio set in working order? ____ yes; ____ no; ____ D.K.

101. Do you have a TV set in working order? ____ yes; ____ no; ____ D.K.

102. How many years have you lived in _____? _____ years.

103. Do you have any children? (If "YES":) How many? _____ What ages? _____

If there are children:

a. Are any of the children (Is the child) in school now? _____ yes; _____ no.

If a child is in school now:

b. Are you satisfied with the way things are going for them (him; her)?

_____ yes; _____ no; _____ D.K.

104. What is your religious preference?

_____ Catholic; _____ Protestant; _____ Jewish; _____ Other; _____ None

105. What is the occupation of the main earner in this household: What exactly does he (she) do for a living?

106. What were the sources of your total income in this household last year?

_____ hourly wages; _____ salary; _____ pension; _____ annuities; _____ rentals;

_____ farming; _____ self-employed business; _____ social security; _____ investments

(not property); _____ royalties; _____ commissions; _____ savings.

107. About what was the total income in this household last year?

_____ to \$2,000; _____ to \$4,000; _____ to \$6,000; _____ to \$8,000; _____ over \$8,000;

_____ D.K.

108. Is this household rented? _____ no; _____ yes; _____ D.K.

109. Note sex of respondent here: _____ male; _____ female.

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

Stanford University

School and Community Survey

Name: _____ Address: _____
Date of Interview: _____ Interviewer: _____
Reason not interviewed: _____

Hello, I'm from Stanford University. We're interviewing people all over _____ today to find out what people think about the schools. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions

1. Can you tell me some of the good things about the _____ schools that you have heard from other people recently? Anything else?

2. Can you tell me some of the bad things about the _____ schools that you have heard from other people recently? Anything else?

3. What kinds of people, in your estimation, supported the school bond issue in the election held February 18? Any others?

4. What kinds of people, in your estimation, opposed the school bond issue in the election held February 18? Any others?

5. As far as you are concerned, which of these next statements are correct, and which are not correct?

	<u>Correct</u>	<u>Not Correct</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a. I hear quite a bit about what goes on in the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
b. I hear quite a bit about the financial problems of the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
c. I heard quite a bit about the school bond election.	_____	_____	_____
d. I heard persons tell me how they would vote in the school bond election.	_____	_____	_____

6. Has anyone mentioned something about the local schools to you lately?

- a. Who?
- b. What was said?
- c. Was anyone else listening too? Who? . . .

No:

...6. Has anyone else mentioned something about the local schools to you lately?

- a. Who?
- b. What was said?
- c. Was anyone else listening too? Who? . . .

Repeat sequence as necessary. Record answers on prepared forms given you (See Form A).

7. Have you heard or seen anything on radio or television about the local schools lately?

- a. Which: radio or television?
- b. Do you know who said it? Who?
- c. What was said (shown)?
- d. Was anyone else listening (viewing) too? Who? . . .

No:

...7. Have you heard or seen anything else on radio or television about the local schools lately?

- a. Which: radio or television?
- b. Do you know who said it? Who?
- c. What was said (shown)?
- d. Was anyone else listening (viewing) too? . . .

Repeat sequence as necessary. Record answers on prepared forms given you (See Form A).

8. As far as you are concerned, which of these next statements are correct, and which are not correct:

	<u>Correct</u>	<u>Not Correct</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a. I read quite a bit about what goes on in the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
b. I read quite a bit about the financial problems of the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
c. I read quite a bit about the school bond election.	_____	_____	_____
d. I read people's opinions on how they would vote in the school bond election.	_____	_____	_____

9. Have you read anything lately about the local schools?

- a. Where? (In what media)
- b. Do you know who wrote it?
- c. What was it about?
- d. Did anyone else you know read it too?

No: _____

...9. Have you read anything else lately about the local schools?

- a. Where?
- b. Do you know who wrote it?
- c. What was it about?
- d. Did anyone else you know read it too?...

Repeat sequence as necessary. Record answers on prepared forms given you (See Form A).

10. As far as you are concerned, which of these next statements are correct, and which are not correct:

	<u>Correct</u>	<u>Not Correct</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a. I talk quite a bit about what goes on in the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
b. I talk quite a bit about the financial problems of the schools here.	_____	_____	_____
c. I talked quite a bit about the school bond election.	_____	_____	_____
d. I told other people about how I would vote in the school bond election,	_____	_____	_____

11. Have you said anything to someone lately about the local schools?

a. Who?

b. What did you say?...

No: _____

...11. Have you said anything else lately to someone about the local schools?

a. Who?

b. What did you say?...

Repeat sequence as necessary. Record answers on prepared forms given you (See Form A).

12. How do you usually hear about what's going on in the schools? Any other ways?

13. If you wanted information about the schools, what person would you ask?

_____ Why? _____

Anyone else? _____ Why? _____

14. If you wanted information about whether the schools should have more financial support, what person would you ask?

_____ Why? _____

Anyone else? _____ Why? _____

15. Would you like to have more information about the schools, less information, or just about what you have now? _____ more; _____ less; _____ about the same.

Why? _____

If reason is "because I need more" or the like, ask:

Why do you say that? _____

16. Is there anything in particular concerning the schools that you would like to know more about? Why?

Wants to know more about Why (probe if: "I don't know enough about it")

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

17. Is there anything about this last election on which you would have liked to have had more information? Why?

More information on Why (probe if: "I don't know enough about it")

_____	_____
_____	_____

18. What would be the best way for you to get hold of information about the schools? Any other ways?

19. Which of these have proved useful to you in the past in learning about the schools here?

	<u>Useful</u>	<u>Not Useful</u>
a. television programs	_____	_____
b. radio programs	_____	_____
c. newspaper articles	_____	_____
d. magazine articles	_____	_____
e. special school bulletins	_____	_____
f. speeches by school representatives	_____	_____
g. friends	_____	_____

20. Are there any ways that we haven't mentioned that you have found useful in learning about the schools here?

21. Can you give me an example of a person in town who seems to be well informed on school affairs?

If answer to 21:

a. What seems to be his opinion on school affairs? _____

b. Does this agree with your position? _____

c. How much have you talked with this person lately?

_____ not at all; _____ not very often; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty often;

_____ very often; _____ D.K.

22. What school programs or activities are you familiar with? Any others?

23. How often have you talked about the _____ schools with a neighbor?

_____ not at all; _____ not very often; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty often;

_____ very often; _____ D.K.

24. How often can you recall talking to anyone recently about some problem in the local schools?

_____ not at all; _____ not very often; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty often;

_____ very often; _____ D.K.

25. How often do you read something about the _____ schools to members of your family?

_____ not at all; _____ not very often; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty often;

_____ very often; _____ D.K.

26. Have you read something about the local schools recently which you suggested that a friend or member of the family read?

_____ not at all; _____ not very often; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty often;

_____ very often; _____ D.K.

27. Can you recall criticizing anything recently that the _____ schools did -- or didn't do?

_____ not at all; _____ not very often; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty often;
 _____ very often; _____ D.K.

28. How often have you discussed with a friend or a member of your family how the local schools compare with other schools?

_____ not at all; _____ not very often; _____ occasionally; _____ pretty often;
 _____ very often; _____ D.K.

29. In some recent surveys some people made these next statements. Do you agree or disagree with these statements:

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>D.K.</u>
a. More money should be spent building churches instead of libraries.	_____	_____	_____
b. People who don't believe in God should not be allowed to teach in schools or colleges.	_____	_____	_____
c. A person with good horse sense can go a lot farther than a guy with a fancy college education.	_____	_____	_____
d. People who appreciate classical music and great literature usually enjoy life more than people who don't appreciate them.	_____	_____	_____
e. People in public office should have a college degree.	_____	_____	_____
f. College students should be deferred from the draft.	_____	_____	_____
g. Learning the three R's -- reading, writing, and arithmetic -- is enough for most people.	_____	_____	_____
h. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.	_____	_____	_____

i. Voting is the only way that people like me have anything to say about how their schools are run.

Agree Disagree D.K.

j. People like me don't have much say about what schools do.

k. Sometimes educational policy seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

Now we would like to ask you a few more questions before we're done....

30. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to read?

_____ not good at all; _____ not very good; _____ somewhat good; _____ pretty good;
_____ very good; _____ D.K.

31. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to spell?

_____ not good at all; _____ not very good; _____ somewhat good; _____ pretty good;
_____ very good; _____ D.K.

32. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to write?

_____ not good at all; _____ not very good; _____ somewhat good; _____ pretty good;
_____ very good; _____ D.K.

33. Do you think the schools today do a good enough job of teaching students how to figure out basic arithmetic problems?

_____ not good at all; _____ not very good; _____ somewhat good; _____ pretty good;
_____ very good; _____ D.K.

34. Were you registered to vote in the school bond election? _____

35. Did you vote? _____ (If yes:) At which polling place? _____

36. Did you vote in the last school tax election? _____

If "YES" to Q. 36:

a. How did you vote? _____

37. How did you vote in the school bond election: Did you vote yes or no?

38. How likely did you think it was that this bond issue would pass?

_____ not likely at all; _____ not very likely; _____ somewhat likely; _____ pretty likely;

_____ very likely; _____ D.K.

39. In making up your mind about the school bond election, did something you heard or read tend to confirm what you had already thought?

If Yes:

Can you give me an example of that: _____

40. In making up your mind about the school bond election, did something you heard or read seem to you to be a really intelligent opinion?

If Yes:

Can you give me an example of that: _____

41. In making up your mind about the school bond election, did something you heard or read seem to you to be an opinion that most people share?

If Yes:

Can you give me an example of that: _____

42. In making up your mind about the school bond election, did something you heard or read seem to you to be a really good explanation of what the election was all about?

If Yes:

Can you give me an example of that: _____

43. About what is your age? _____

44. What was the last grade you finished in school? (Circle number indicated)

to 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 or more

45. What groups or organizations are you a member of? Any others?

46. What newspapers do you read regularly? Any others?

47. What magazines do you read regularly? Any others?

48. Do you have a radio set in working order? ____yes; ____no; ____D.K.

49. Do you have a TV set in working order? ____yes; ____no; ____D.K.

50. How many years have you lived in _____? _____years.

51. Do you have any children? (If "YES":) How many? _____ What ages? _____

If there are children:

a. Are any of the children (Is the child) in school now? ____yes; ____no.

If a child is in school now:

b. Are you satisfied with the way things are going for them (him; her)?

____ yes; ____ no; ____ D.K.

52. What is your religious preference?

____ Catholic; ____ Protestant; ____ Jewish; ____ Other; ____ None

53. What is the occupation of the main earner in this household: What exactly does he (she) do for a living?

54. What were the sources of your total income in this household last year?

____ hourly wages; ____ salary; ____ pension; ____ annuities; ____ rentals;
____ farming; ____ self-employed business; ____ social security; ____ investments
(not property); ____ royalties; ____ commissions; ____ savings.

55. About what was the total income in this household last year?

____ to \$2,000; ____ to \$4,000; ____ to \$6,000; ____ to \$8,000; ____ over \$8,000;
____ D.K.

56. Is this household rented? ____ no; ____ yes; ____ D.K.

Note sex of respondent here: ____ male; ____ female.

Thank you for your cooperation!

Stanford University

COUPLES QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____ Phone No.: _____
Address: _____

As you probably recall from the letter sent you from Stanford, we would like to talk with you about your local schools. This survey of public opinion is being sponsored in part by the U. S. Office of Education, and in cooperation with your local citizen committees.

We are going to ask you some questions about what you feel to be important for your local schools. Anything you say will be kept anonymous.

First, we have questionnaires for each of you we would like you to fill out. When you finish, we have a few questions that we would like to ask of both of you together.

Give each the appropriate questionnaire. Be sure they understand they are to fill them out separately. As each finishes, ask that the pages be checked to see that none are missed.

When individual questionnaires have been completed. . .

Now we would like you both to look at these questions we have printed here on separate cards. We would like you to make a joint decision on what your answer is. The questions are to give your local elementary school board your ideas on financial matters in the district.

Give them the questions, one by one. Check boxes below questions as instructed. Record their opinions, prefacing by H (husband) and W (wife) to indicate source of opinion.

After the interview is over: Record below your judgment on the kind of interaction which the husband and wife have demonstrated on the first 6 joint questions.

- ☐ 1. Each gives no opinion; they give individual answers to questions
- ☐ 2. Each gives an opinion; they give individual answers to questions
- ☐ 3. One person answers for both without any discussion between them
- ☐ 4. They talk together, then reach a compromise, joint decision
- ☐ 5. They talk together, then give individual answers

Remarks:

1. In looking over the school needs for the next five years, the following items have been proposed for a bond issue which would total \$2,000,000.

a. 25 classrooms	\$500,000
b. 9 multipurpose rooms	720,000
c. 3 physical education facilities (gyms)	180,000
d. 5 libraries	100,000
e. replace 5 obsolete classrooms	100,000
f. landscaping and playgrounds	80,000
g. equipping of rooms, architect fees, and inspection costs	320,000
	<u>\$2,000,000</u>

If this bond issue were offered to you for a vote at this time, would you vote YES or NO?

Husband	
Wife	
Both	

	<u>Asks Information</u>	<u>Gives Information</u>	<u>Attempts to Influence</u>
Husband			
Wife			

Opinions: (Identify Source)

1a. If NO: Would you change your mind if they dropped some of the items from the request? Which ones?

	<u>Wouldn't change</u>	<u>Drop:</u>	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
Husband									
Wife									
Both									

	<u>Asks Information</u>	<u>Gives Information</u>	<u>Attempts to Influence</u>
Husband			
Wife			

Opinions: (Identify Source)

2. It is estimated that to staff and operate the proposed new school rooms in the next five years would cost taxpayers up to 51 cents per \$100 assessed valuation. At first it would be much less than 51 cents, but as more school rooms were built, the tax would be higher. Considering this, would you vote for the bond issue and this tax increase?

Husband	
Wife	
Both	

	<u>Asks Information</u>	<u>Gives Information</u>	<u>Attempts to Influence</u>
Husband			
Wife			

Opinions: (Identify Source)

3. The school district has difficulty holding its teaching staff in competition with larger school districts around it. These Union and High School Districts pay more. It has been proposed to raise the tax rate about 23 cents per \$100 assessed valuation to raise teacher salaries. At first, the whole 23 cents would not be taxed, but in five years the whole amount might be taxed. How would you vote for this request?

Husband	
Wife	
Both	

	<u>Asks Information</u>	<u>Gives Information</u>	<u>Attempts to Influence</u>
Husband			
Wife			

Opinions: (Specify Source)

4. Recently people have been talking about a "pay-as-you-go" plan for meeting school building needs. Instead of borrowing money by bond issues, they would save up tax money to meet building needs.

The arguments for a "pay-as-you-go" plan are: It is very expensive to borrow money for building because interest must be paid. Our school population is stable after a period of rapid growth, so no new complete schools should be needed in the next five years. Additional classrooms could be built as needed.

The arguments against a "pay-as-you-go" plan are: It would take some years to save enough from taxes alone to build a large addition such as a gym. Some of the money which seems lost in bond costs is gained by the effects of inflation. The cost of building is shared by the people who will benefit from the building -- the next generation.

How do you feel about these two alternatives?

4. continued

Husband		
Wife		
Both		

	<u>Asks Information</u>	<u>Gives Information</u>	<u>Attempts to Influence</u>
Husband			
Wife			

Opinions: (Specify Source)

5. Some people have suggested that the local school district ought to make regular use of management experts. Do you think the school district should set aside enough money to obtain this advice?

Husband	
Wife	
Both	

	<u>Asks Information</u>	<u>Gives Information</u>	<u>Attempts to Influence</u>
Husband			
Wife			

Opinions: (Specify Source)

6. Many schools today are faced with a problem of crowded conditions. The following methods are being used to overcome this problem. How would you rank these methods -- which would be best, which next best, and so on?

- a. build more classrooms
- b. give each teacher more students to teach
- c. have two sessions a day -- some children would go early in the day and others would go later in the day
- d. keep the school open all year round -- children would go only nine months each year but they would go at different times of the year.

Rank:	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Husband				
Wife				
Both				

	<u>Asks Information</u>	<u>Gives Information</u>	<u>Attempts to Influence</u>
Husband			
Wife			

Opinions: (Specify Source)

Now we would like to ask you about a few more areas of interest to both of you....

7. When you consider a major purchase, such as a car or a house, how do you usually handle the shopping problem between you?

8. In case of a disagreement between you, how do you generally handle the problem?

9. Does the whole family take their vacation at the same time? ____ Yes; ____ No.

If YES: In what month? _____

Would you prefer to take a vacation at some other time of the year?
When? _____

If YES: Why haven't you been able to take it then? _____

If NO: When does the main wage earner take his vacation? _____

(To earner:) Would you prefer to take a vacation at some other time
of the year? When? _____

If YES: Why haven't you been able to take it then? _____

10. Do you remember getting a voting pamphlet before the November 4th election?
____ Yes; ____ No.

If YES: Were there any issues or candidates that you read up on in the
pamphlet? What? _____

11. As far as you remember, did you both vote for the same candidates?

____ Yes; ____ All but a few minor ones; ____ No.

12. As far as you remember, did you both vote the same way on all the state
propositions?

____ Yes; ____ All but a few minor ones; ____ No.

13. In a complex election like the last one, many persons make use of the sample ballot which is sent to voters. What use did you make of the sample ballot?

	<u>Marked ballot</u>	<u>Used ballot</u>
Husband alone		
Wife alone		
Husband and wife together		
Not marked/not used		

That's all. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

Stanford University

WIFE'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____	Address: _____
Date of Interview: _____	

These questions can be answered in regard to the local elementary schools or the local high schools or both.

1. We are interested in who seems to take an interest in school matters. Would you tell us what three kinds of persons you think take the most active interest in school matters:

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

1a. Do you consider yourself the same kind of person as one of those you just named? Which ones? (Please list by their importance to you if more than one.)

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

2. Of the people you know, does the husband or the wife usually take the more active interest in school activities? (Check one)

Husband _____; Wife _____; Both take equal interest _____.

2a. Is this how it is in your family?

Yes _____; No, _____ takes more interest
(specify)

3. Of the people you know, does the husband or the wife take the more active interest in school financial policies? (Check one)

Husband _____; Wife _____; Both take equal interest _____.

3a. Is this how it is in your family?

Yes _____; No, _____ takes more interest.
(specify)

4. To what extent do you and your husband usually agree on school matters?

Not at all _____; Not very much _____; Sometimes _____;
Pretty much _____; Very much _____.

5. Compared to most couples you know, would you say that your husband and yourself talk together about school matters:

Less than the average couple _____
About the same as the average couple _____
More than the average couple _____

6. Does your husband ever seem to you to be trying to win you over to his point of view on school matters? No _____; Yes _____.

If YES: a. On what school matters? _____

b. Did he succeed on any of these in winning you over?

No _____; Yes _____.

If YES: Which ones? _____

7. Do you ever try to win your husband over to your point of view on school matters? No _____; Yes _____.

If YES: a. On what school matters? _____

b. Did you succeed on any of these in winning him over?

No _____; Yes _____.

If YES: Which ones? _____

8. Generally speaking, how successful are you in getting people to agree with you in discussions of school matters? (Check one)

Never tried _____; Not at all successful _____; Not very successful _____.
Somewhat successful _____; Pretty successful _____; Very successful _____.

9. On any topic of discussion, how successful are you usually in getting your husband to agree with you?

Not at all successful _____; Not very successful _____;
Somewhat successful _____; Pretty successful _____; Very successful _____.

10. What kinds of activities outside the home do you and your husband usually do together?

1. _____ 2. _____
3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

11. What kinds of group activities outside the home do you alone engage in frequently?

1. _____ 2. _____
3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

12. Since completing your education, how often have you visited public schools or attended school functions?

Not at all _____; Not very often _____; Sometimes _____;
Pretty often _____; Very often _____.

13. How often have you attended meetings of school organizations like the PTA?

Not at all _____; Not very often _____; Sometimes _____;
Pretty often _____; Very often _____.

14. How often have you talked by phone or in person with a school official or teacher?

Not at all _____; Not very often _____; Sometimes _____;
Pretty often _____; Very often _____.

15. How often in the past year have matters concerning the schools crossed your mind?

Not at all _____; Not very often _____; Sometimes _____;
Pretty often _____; Very often _____.

16. What satisfactions have you received from your participation in school affairs?

17. How often have you talked about the local schools with a neighbor?

Not at all _____; Not very often _____; Sometimes _____;
Pretty often _____; Very often _____.

18. How often can you recall talking to someone recently about some problem in the local schools?

Not at all _____; Not very often _____; Sometimes _____;
Pretty often _____; Very often _____.

19. Have you read something about the local schools recently which you suggested that a friend or member of the family read?

Not at all _____; Not very often _____; Sometimes _____;
Pretty often _____; Very often _____.

20. Can you recall criticizing anything lately that the schools did -- or didn't do?

Not at all _____; Not very often _____; Sometimes _____;
Pretty often _____; Very often _____.

21. How often have you discussed with a friend or a member of your family how the local schools compare with other schools?

Not at all _____; Not very often _____; Sometimes _____;
Pretty often _____; Very often _____.

22. How interested in the local schools would you say you are, compared to the average person you know? Would you say your interest is:

More than the average person's _____;
About the same as the average person's _____;
Less than the average person's _____.

23. In some national surveys, these next statements were made by some of the people interviewed. Would you agree or disagree with these statements?

a. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think. Agree ____; Disagree ____.

b. Voting is the only way that people like me have anything to say about how their schools are run. Agree ____; Disagree ____.

c. People like me don't have much say about what the schools do. Agree ____; Disagree ____.

d. Sometimes educational policy seems so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. Agree ____; Disagree ____.

24. Does it seem to you that the children play too much in the local schools?

Not at all ____; Not very much ____; Somewhat ____;
Pretty much ____; Very much ____.

25. On the whole, would you say that the schools here are doing a good job?

Not at all ____; Not very good ____; Somewhat good ____;
Pretty good ____; Very good ____.

26. Is there a lot of sugar-coating or frills in the schools here, would you say?

Not at all ____; Not very much ____; Some ____;
Pretty much ____; Very much ____.

27. As you see it, does going to school seem to be a waste of time for many of the local youngsters?

Not at all ____; Not very much ____; Somewhat ____;
Pretty much ____; Very much ____.

28. How do you compare to the average person you know on what you think about the local schools? Would you say you favor the local schools:

More than the average person ____;
About the same as the average person ____;
Less than the average person ____.

29. Some people feel that schools cost them more than the average person.
Would you say that the local schools cost you:

More than the average person ____;
About the same as the average person ____;
Less than the average person ____.

30. Generally speaking, would you say that taxes are already as high as they ought to go?

Not high at all ____; Not very high ____; Somewhat high ____;
Pretty high ____; Very high ____.

31. Do you feel that your own tax load is too much of a burden for what you get in return?

Not at all ____; Not very much ____; Somewhat ____;
Pretty much ____; Very much ____.

32. Does it look to you as if business conditions in the next twelve months will be:

Better than the last year's conditions ____;
About the same as the last year's conditions ____;
Worse than the last year's conditions ____.

33. Have you read anything in a national magazine recently which criticized schools? No ____; Yes ____.

If YES: What was it about? _____

34. What do you expect from your schools? _____

35. We would like to ask you now the kinds of school matters you've been talking about lately, and with whom you've been talking. Take a look at the topics below on the left, and then at the kinds of people at the bottom of the page.

After each topic write the letters which show the kinds of persons you've talked with on that topic. The examples show you how.

<u>Topics</u>	<u>EXAMPLES</u>				
	<u>Persons talked with</u>				
Student behavior	<u>A</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	—	—
Sports	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	—

<u>Topics</u>	<u>Persons talked with</u>				
Student behavior	—	—	—	—	—
Student accomplishments	—	—	—	—	—
School building needs	—	—	—	—	—
School costs	—	—	—	—	—
Sports	—	—	—	—	—
Teacher behavior	—	—	—	—	—
Special programs or events	—	—	—	—	—
Quality of teaching	—	—	—	—	—
Special student services	—	—	—	—	—
Courses given or needed	—	—	—	—	—
Quality of school leadership	—	—	—	—	—
Other: _____ (specify)	—	—	—	—	—

<u>Persons talked with:</u>	<u>A.</u> Husband
<u>B.</u> Own child in school	<u>C.</u> Other relative
<u>D.</u> Friend or Neighbor	<u>E.</u> Someone at work
<u>F.</u> Someone connected with schools	<u>G.</u> Someone at club or in a social gathering
<u>H.</u> Child of a friend or neighbor	<u>J.</u> Other: _____ (specify)

36. What is your age? _____.

37. What was the last grade you finished in school? _____.

38. Do you have any children? No _____, Yes _____.

If YES: What is the age of the youngest child? _____.

Are any attending a public school? No _____; Yes _____.

Are any attending a parochial school? No _____; Yes _____.

Are any attending a private school? No _____; Yes _____.

39. In your opinion, do children bring an added responsibility to parents to be active in school affairs?

Not at all _____; Not very much _____; Somewhat _____;
Pretty much _____; Very much _____.

40. Do you feel any pressures on you to be more involved in school affairs?
No _____; Yes _____.

If YES: Where does the pressure come from? 1. _____
2. _____ 3. _____

41. What are the names of:

a. The superintendent of the Elementary school district: _____

b. Two school board members of the Elementary district: 1. _____
2. _____

c. The superintendent of the High School district: _____

d. Two school board members of the _____ district:
1. _____ 2. _____

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COMMUNITIES AND THEIR SCHOOLS



• Stanford University, Stanford, California •

COMMUNITIES AND THEIR SCHOOLS

By

Richard F. Carter and John Sutthoff

With

Dwight H. Newell, William G. Savard, and Francis M. Trusty

**A Technical Report from the
School of Education
Stanford University
Stanford, California**

December 1, 1960

**Cooperative Research Project No. 308
William R. Odell, Director**

**The research reported herein was performed pursuant
to a contract with the United States Office of Education,
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.**

PREFACE

When we began three years ago to inquire into the "understanding" that existed between communities and their schools, we knew that we should have to visit many communities and talk with hundreds of people. We also knew that this was to be a difficult subject to research, for unless the subject were only considered superficially, we should need cooperation from many leaders in these communities. The product, three years later, of our research is indebted to these leaders. Our research experience as well has been enriched by their enthusiastic response to the question we set out to answer. Our personal interviews and our mailed questionnaires received their helpful cooperation. Superintendents and teachers, school board members, PTA leaders, city officials and civic leaders, businessmen and farmers, newspaper publishers -- all busy people -- gave us their time and, gratifyingly, their encouragement. To them we express our profound appreciation.

The endorsements and resources of three national educational organizations came to our aid at critical points in this project:

The National School Public Relations Association supported our research proposal and later assisted our efforts to gather district financial data by mail. Within the association, we should like to thank particularly: Roy K. Wilson, secretary-treasurer; Robert McKay, former president of the association; and,

Millie Wainger, executive assistant.

The American Association of School Administrators, especially: Finis Engleman, Executive Secretary; Hollis A. Moore, Jr., former Executive Secretary of the Committee for the Advancement of School Administration, and Forrest E. Connor, 1959-60 president of the association.

The National School Boards Association whose executive director, W. A. Shannon, gave us a hand during the collection of the data.

The U. S. Office of Education has given continuous encouragement and support beyond its financial assistance. We recognize the friendly help of: Roy M. Hall, Assistant Commissioner of Education for Research; Walter B. Adamson, Executive Assistant, Division of Research; Herbert S. Conrad, Director, Educational Statistics Branch; Carroll Hanson, Director, U. S. Office of Education Publication Services; David L. Clark, Director, Cooperative Research Branch; and, Alice Y. Scates, J. William Asher, and William R. Carriker, research coordinators.

To members of our own School of Education we express our gratitude for their advice and assistance: Dean I. James Quillen, James D. MacConnell, H. Thomas James, Walter M. Garcia, William H. Strand, O. Kenneth O'Fallon, and Russell Kent.

Our colleagues in the Institute for Communication Research, Chilton R. Bush and Wilbur Schramm, have contributed their talents to this project throughout its planning and execution.

Arthur R. Partridge, as assistant director of the project during its first two years, gave dedicated leadership to the work.

Paul J. Deutschmann, formerly in the Department of Communication and Journalism, provided us with a valuable memorandum of earlier efforts in this area.

We have acknowledged on the title page the significant work of three graduate students in education: Dwight H. Newell, William G. Savard, and Francis M. Trusty. The results reported in three chapters are largely dependent on their development of an interest and proficiency in research.

We believe that research experiences make a valuable contribution to the education of the administrator-to-be. Where possible, we have involved advanced graduate students in this project. They have in turn repaid us with their acceptance of responsibility. Two deserve special mention for their work: Harry Schwilke and Marvin Wampler.

We are further indebted to our capable secretaries for their practical assistance: Mary Arnovick, Fern Campbell, Ann Crofut, Mary K. O'Brien, Lorraine Peterson, Betty Lou Rarick, Joan Reynertson, and Brenda Scott.

Finally, there is the project leadership of William R. Odell. Our results can only begin to measure the impact of his direction. Perhaps we can hint at the full measure by noting that never has the importance of administration in education been so evident to us.

Richard F. Carter
Study Director

John Sutthoff
Coordinator

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Public education as an institution in the United States has not so much grown as it has evolved. There has been remarkable growth in curriculum, administration, and physical plant. Not all of this has been popular, but it has been accomplished, and few doubt that today's children are receiving a better education than their parents. However, as a political institution, public education can be said to have grown only in the sense of expansion. The problems of public education are increased in number, they are increased in complexity, and the need for greater responsiveness to public wants is increased. Yet the schools are finding it more difficult than ever to act. In large part, the cause lies with the expansion in numbers and complexity. The ideal democratic action that was typical in the early history of public education -- that a community of voters could establish policy -- has evolved with less than satisfactory consequences.

Today, about a fourth of all the money requested in bond issues is not approved by the voters. That is, it is not approved the first time it is asked for. But because the voters are now relegated to the position of reviewing policy, far removed from initiating policy, the school leaders are compelled to change a few items and try again and, if necessary, again. As the situation becomes critical, leadership turns to political campaigning as a means for passing financial issues.

The scene is often one of conflict, of unresolved questions and heightened frustrations.

What can be done? The most frequent response is to try to bridge the gap with an informational program -- through public reports, regular releases to the mass media, public meetings, and so forth. An attempt is made to increase public understanding of education's problems and, hopefully, the acceptance of its financial programs. Little is known, however, of the success of this endeavor.

To provide an answer to the question of success or failure, the School of Education and the Institute for Communication Research of Stanford University began, on August 1, 1957, a study of "Community Understanding as a Factor in the Financial Support of Public Education." This three year study was conducted under contract with the Cooperative Research Branch of the U. S. Office of Education.

This report contains the findings from interviews with community leaders in 82 school districts throughout the country and a subsequent mail survey of 1054 school districts -- also a national sample. At the same time, personal interviews with nearly 5,000 registered voters were being conducted by the Institute for Communication Research. Its interviewing, which encompassed both coasts and the Midwest, included questioning of the staff members in the Midwest district. A report of these interviews, Voters and Their Schools, is already completed. We plan a summary version of the two reports for the popular audience.

The two groups of interviews had a common conceptualization of the problem as well as the common goal of knowing better the function of understanding in school-community relations. Indeed, the first result of this joint research attack was the statement, in researchable terms, of the place that understanding has in the interaction of school and community.

The Institute for Communication Research has considered understanding from the point of view of the voter. What need has the voter for understanding? Does he make his decision with any degree of understanding? In what terms does he understand the problems of education? Its conclusion is that the voter understands the situation largely in terms of his own child's needs -- particularly, the child's needs to succeed in a highly competitive society. This is hardly understanding at all. Rather, it is very personalized perception. From this point of view, the voter reacts as a consumer to a product. And because the product's use must be anticipated by the parent, there is often apprehension and fear. As seen by parents, the schools are merchandising a product of greatly varying quality. The schools' point of view is, however, that their product is education and that in their efforts that education is equally applied. But to the voter for whom the product is the child, the schools are not perceived in these terms. In fact, the schools are not understood. Nor are they likely to be on this basis.

What, then, is the relevance of understanding to school-community relations? We have said that the initiation of policy rests with a relatively few persons -- leaders in the school and community. It is they who must formulate policy for

review by the voters. They must know the school's problems and the community's resources. It is they who must first understand. We can look forward to the possibility that more voters will interpret the situation in this manner and, by studying the effective use of communications, move toward this goal. But, realistically, at this point we must view understanding in this small group of leaders to see it operative in school-community relations. And it is here that we have been able to see the function of understanding in securing financial support for schools.

* * * * *

Summary of Results

I. How Can Understanding Contribute to the Support of Public Education?

Q. What do we mean by "understanding"?

Agreement as to what the situation is. In a state of understanding, leaders of school and community may not agree on what should be done about the situation but at least they agree on what the situation is.

Q. What is the function of understanding in school-community relations?

Understanding stabilizes successful relations, making possible a planned development toward common goals of education.

Q. Are there any assumptions involved?

Yes, that school and community leaders value education sufficiently to work toward achieving understanding.

Q. Is there any evidence that understanding does help in successful school-community relations?

Yes. Communities which have the longest records of continued success in financial elections also have the best scores on a measure of understanding that we have developed.

Q. How is understanding measured?

By the congruence of perceptions among school and community leaders as to the present situation -- that is, their degree of agreement as to what the situation is.

Q. How is understanding secured?

Through effective communications. In larger districts, this means through one of several effective mediating agencies, persons or groups which can pass information between schools and community.

Q. Is there any evidence that effective mediating agencies do help in successful school-community relations?

Yes. Communities which have the longest records of continued success in financial elections are also seen to have more effective mediating agencies.

Q. What about other factors influencing school-community relations?

There are many. We have counted some 162 already that appear to have an impact on the relationship. In addition, there are some characteristics of the process as a whole which affect the

relationship -- rigidities of tradition, legal constraints on the relationship, and the frequent political nature of the interaction between schools and community.

II. What Makes a Difference in School-Community Relations?

Q. What do informed observers in the community perceive as helping school-community relations?

Student achievement, student athletics, student pride in the local schools, and student programs -- plays, bands, and so forth.

Communication ties between school and community: open houses, parent-teacher conferences, parent-teacher relations, PTA's and parent clubs, PTA public meetings, PTA campaigning for the schools, mass media coverage of schools, relations with civic institutions such as libraries, and informal contacts between school people and local citizens.

The administrators' professional qualifications, their beliefs, values and goals, and their relations with parents.

Special services such as a retarded children program, availability of school facilities for the community, health, and transportation.

A competent staff of teachers who have good relations with the students.

Q. What do informed observers in the community perceive as hurting school-community relations?

Political opposition to the schools: organized and unorganized chronic critics, voter attitudes toward taxes and the business outlook, the conservative nature of voters.

Lack of voter turnout for elections.

The communicatory activity of the opposition: their use of the mass media, their use of letters and bulletins, their public meetings, and the quality of their techniques.

National criticisms of education.

Property assessment procedures.

Students quitting school before graduation.

Q. What differences are perceived among positive factors by observers in districts of varying enrollment?

In larger districts, mass media and services seem to be more helpful than in smaller districts. In smaller districts, direct communication, administrators, and staff play a more important part as helpful factors.

Q. What differences are perceived among negative factors by observers in districts of varying enrollments?

The factors which hurt more in larger districts are seen to be: staff union organizations, opposition from the mass media,

labor unions, chambers of commerce, and large taxpayers. In smaller districts, those factors seen as hurting are more often: inadequate administrative relations with the community, an elderly population, an uneducated population, a majority of lower status occupations, a small and non-unified district, and commuting to other communities for work.

Q. Overall, what seems to be the typical school-community relationship?

Factors are perceived to be uniquely associated with either success or failure. The school-community relationship can thus be viewed as a balance of these factors, subject to destructive swings away from that balance.

Q. What is the implication of this theory of "balance"?

Balance can become an end in itself, leading to a concern for protecting the status quo.

Q. Is there a way to maintain balance and yet move forward?

Yes. Understanding provides stability to the relationship, so that equilibrium is retained but the relationship need not be static.

III. How Well Do Informants Evaluate Factors in School-Community Relations?

Q. Do school and community leaders evaluate factors in school-community relations correctly?

They appear to recognize factors which are injuring the relationship better than those factors which are helping.

Q. Are there differences in judgments by district size?

Yes. Informants in larger districts see negative factors better.

Informants in smaller districts are better able to see positive factors.

Q. Are there any particularly poor judgments?

Seemingly, yes. On closer examination, however, we find that informants' poor judgments are largely in the area of seeing positive factors helping in failure situations. We see this not so much as evidence of poor judgment as of the problem of making failure into success by adding more weight to the positive side of the balance.

Q. What factors are seen as helping in failure situations?

Predominantly, they are associated with campaign tactics -- further evidence that they represent attempts to shift the balance away from failure.

Q. Do all informants make similar judgments?

They all see negative factors better than positive factors. Each, however, sees some factors better as a consequence of his own role in the school-community relationship.

Q. Do similarities in judgments reflect communication patterns among the informants?

Yes, to some degree. School critics are least like the others in judgments; they are also less likely to hold perceptions of the situation in their community in common with other informants. The latter

measure is a good index of effective communication.

IV. How Do State Legal Provisions Affect School-Community Relations?

Q. What differences are there in legal provisions by size of district?

Larger districts are more likely than smaller districts to have board members appointed, to have longer terms of office for board members, to have board members representative of the district at large, to have board members nominated for office by political action rather than direct petition, to have boards empowered to adopt school budgets without elections or official approval, and to be exempted from holding special fiscal elections to buy or sell school property or to accept state aid.

Q. What effect does this difference suggest?

That larger district boards of control have greater potential for more effective control over fiscal policies.

Q. Is this greater potential for control on the part of larger district boards of control evident in the financial records of their bond and tax elections?

Yes, in the bond elections. Those larger districts which have more potential for control appear to be able to win more of their elections. However, this is not so evident for tax elections -- except in medium districts.

V. Does Voter Turnout Affect School Financial Elections?

Q. What is the relationship between voter turnout for financial elections and the outcome of those elections?

When voter turnout is low, from 0 to 30%, many more elections succeed than fail. In the medium range, up to 60%, more elections fail than succeed. Of the few elections in the upper range, over 60%, as many pass as fail.

Q. Typically, what is the expected turnout for a financial election?

The average is 36.3% of those eligible to vote. The distribution is skewed, with more elections having less than the average turnout.

Q. Are there differences in turnout by size of district?

Yes. Smaller districts have an average turnout of 37.16%; medium districts have an average turnout of 33.34%; large districts have an average turnout of 31.11%.

Q. Is there a difference in turnout between bond and tax elections?

Yes, but it is still a function of size. Turnout is highest for tax elections in large districts, highest for bond elections in small districts.

Q. Is there a difference in turnout by geographic region?

Yes. The South Atlantic and East South Central census regions have consistently higher turnout averages.

Q. Has there been a change in turnout over the last eleven years?

No. There is only a slight difference by year and this is attributable to the even numbered years exceeding the odd numbered years in average turnout.

Q. Does the saliency of the election affect turnout?

Yes. The greater the amount involved, the greater is the average turnout. Similarly, if the district derives more of its support locally than from state sources, the average turnout is greater.

Q. How is the responsiveness of the local board of control to the voter related to turnout?

In smaller districts, the more responsive the board of control, the higher the average turnout. By a responsive board, we mean one which is composed of more members, which has shorter terms of office, which is elected according to ward representation, and which can have its majority changed in a relatively short time.

In larger districts, the less responsive the board of control, the higher the average turnout. Because larger districts must usually wage a political campaign to achieve success, we infer that a small, cohesive, and stable board of control is better able to organize and conduct such a campaign.

VI. Explorations

Q. What can be done about obtaining objective estimates of the impact of various factors on school-community relations?

Using census data (1950), we have been able to show a positive relationship of economic capability and community growth to success in California school financial elections closest to 1950.

Q. Can our measure of understanding be used as a criterion for assessing the effectiveness of communication techniques?

We have made successful use of the understanding measure to determine the effectiveness of a principal's report to parents.

Q. Can our instruments for data gathering be successfully used as part of a service to help communities help themselves?

The instruments furnish the information necessary to show what problems exist in a school-community relationship, and they provide a means for later assessment of the success achieved. However, it remains for school and community leaders to act on the basis of the information. Our first attempts in this area indicate that the desire to retain whatever equilibrium there is in the relationship bridle local initiative.

* * * * *

Conclusions

The sources of difficulty in school-community relations are many and their interaction is a complex one. Yet the response to failure is strikingly singular: political action. This is political action in the sense of partisanship, but it is partisanship of an unusual kind: school and community leaders arrayed against voters -- organized or unorganized. These leaders are usually elected representatives of the voters; yet they face their most critical evaluation after they are elected, when their policies are subjected to review. But even this is not the whole story. For it is not so much the policy that is reviewed as it is the product of the schools. And even worse, it is not the total product of education that is reviewed but the individual products, the children of the voters.

The problem is a political one. Are the answers to be found in more effective political action? Should we train a political administrator for every educational administrator we train -- whether he be the same person or not? Should some means be found to bring a choice of positive alternatives to the voter so that no election ends in total defeat? Should we campaign selectively among voters according to the "best understanding of education's needs"?

Perhaps these are the answers. Or, some would argue, initiative and responsibility could be moved to some other authority, probably a larger political division, an authority less wary of its local critics, less sensitive to threatening changes in the status quo.

However, there is another recourse suggested by our research findings

that we might consider. This alternative, more consonant with our present values, is to introduce more understanding into the local situation so that development is not sacrificed in avoidance of imbalance. We have seen that communities with greater understanding among their leaders have better records in financial elections; they enjoy longer records of continued success. We can not conclude that this is definitive evidence of a causal relationship, but the symptom is compelling enough to argue for attention to this possibility of progress without conflict.

This greater understanding must come first among the leaders of school and community. It can be argued that understanding among voters will follow, that issues will become more intelligible, that leaders in their need to understand will communicate more effectively with voters about the voters' problems. Understanding among voters may not then follow, but it is even less likely that it can be obtained directly, apart from the leadership. Understanding implies effective communication. Leadership is in a better position to communicate, to know of what they say. The average voter is not communicating about schools in terms of school-community relations -- only in terms of his child's needs. Many have no direct contact with the schools. They know little of what they need to know.

What, then, are the necessary resources of the leadership if they are to communicate effectively, to attain better understanding? They too must learn more about school-community relations -- their content and their form. They must know the problems and the ways open to them to solve these problems. We have begun in this report to look at some of these problems and to suggest how they

are being solved. Some of these efforts of ours are first attempts and are perhaps simple-minded. Some we have not been able to test as adequately as we might have liked. But we think we can better discuss now several areas in the creation of understanding and better school-community relations.

There is, first of all, the need for effective mediating agencies between schools and communities. We have cited some evidence of their effectiveness, both from financial records and the observations of informants in the communities we visited. Particularly in the larger districts, some agency must inform the community about the schools and (equally important) the schools about the community. The latter need is of great importance in improving the understanding of leadership. In our future research, we are going to look closely at the functions of mediating agencies. They probably hold the best promise of bringing the voters closer to the schools.

For leadership to work more effectively, there must be intelligent accommodation to the environment in which school-community relations exist. We have reported here the political adaptation of leaders to varying legal provisions in their districts, provisions dealing with the constituency of the board of control and its fiscal policies. Expediency appears to be the usual response and political manipulation the means of survival. This follows the usual pattern of reaction rather than action, but it is not a necessary condition. The same energy devoted to controlling a threatening situation could be channeled into more positive control if a better understanding existed.

Although leadership must inevitably act on what it perceives to be the situation, there is still the likelihood that these perceptions can be made more accurate. Specific and exact knowledge of factors entering into the local school-community relationship is needed. Not only must we know what factors play significant parts in this relationship, we must also know their relative significance. We have some preliminary estimates in this report. We intend to get better estimates in our next efforts.

Finally, no school-community relationship -- or understanding among leaders -- is likely to be any better than the school administrator who participates in its growth. He must learn how to know his community realistically. He need not become a skilled researcher but he must be able to utilize the information gathered by research and be able to work with researchers in gathering local data. In part, this is a training problem. But primarily it is a matter of orientation, an open and searching mind.

In conclusion, we see grave trouble ahead for school-community relations based on a consumer orientation among voters and a modal response of political manipulation among school and community leaders. The one path that would seem to lead away from this type of relationship is the path to better understanding.

CHAPTER ONE

HOW CAN UNDERSTANDING CONTRIBUTE TO THE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION?

What do we mean by understanding, and how can it contribute to the support of public education? This is the question we have asked as the basis of this study. To answer it, we have first had to conceptualize the problem we faced, to remove the concept of understanding from the realms of generality and to specify its place in the process of school-community relations.

What is understanding? Is understanding the implied -- but unknown -- result of an informational service by specialists in educational public relations? Is it acquiescence to the policy of educational administrators? In this research, we have said it is neither of these. We have defined understanding as a common perception of the existing situation. Observers may differ widely in their ideas as to what should be done in the situation, but given a state of understanding, they at least see what the situation is. Whether there be then agreement or disagreement, conflict or quiescence, there is yet a basis for development, for progress.

Does understanding contribute to the support of public education? Is support, measured by success in financial elections, the result of understanding or of astute political action? No matter what the level of understanding, are

there other factors that largely determine the support of local educational institutions? What are our reasons for thinking that understanding does or can make a difference in the support of public education? These are all questions of basic importance to us.

We should acknowledge first that in our democratic society no other position is fully acceptable. Our political philosophy dictates that an informed, understanding electorate should guide the path of its institutions. To be sure, incomplete understanding does exist and, in the absence of conflict, is accepted. But so long as support monies are collected locally, so long as control is legally situated in the local community, any policy that neglects the need for understanding is foolhardy.

Understanding is necessary for the satisfaction of the voters in the community, who constitute an aggregate of varied needs and values. Not all voters will find satisfaction in their children's rewards from education -- as the Institute for Communication Research so convincingly shows (2). Indeed, a school system which exists only as the child's training ground for economic and psychological security is on a poor footing. Schools can not expect full support solely on the basis of what they have been seen to produce. A consumer orientation is not sufficient. But in a democratic society, an understanding of the situation can include a shared value among voters to commit themselves to what the schools are capable of producing.

Hard as understanding is to achieve, it is preferable to the wasting

conflicts that find root in misunderstanding. Changing conditions have made these conflicts likely enough without misunderstanding abetting their frequency. As the role of the community voter has changed from political initiative in town meetings to political review of one-alternative policies, the possibility for destructive conflict has increased tremendously.

Unquestionably, the attainment of understanding is becoming more difficult as school districts expand and demands on the schools increase. Distances widen between the schools and the community, and between segments of the community itself. The flow of information needed for understanding is made harder. As schools expand to meet more needs and the needs of more people, their systems grow and become less amenable to the close personal contact that makes communication more effective. New communication skills must be learned. Greater stores of information are required to provide the voter with an adequate understanding of the situation.

Several factors combine to force the schools into a system set apart from the community. The impact of size is felt directly in the need for an administrator to run the schools as a system, leaving the relationship of the schools and the community to the school board or to political controversy. As a consequence, administrators are often only as good as the systems they administer. If the community feels it can afford good schools, it gets them and a good superintendent to carry them on. Elsewhere, political controversy substitutes. The administrator is the leader, not of the schools as a part of the community, but of a system

fighting constantly for survival. Schools do survive -- in some form. There must be an education for the children. But to survive they must often adopt procedures which do not advance a state of understanding. Their communication skills become of necessity manipulative skills, the ability to arouse sympathetic response to their needs. All too often, this response is parental fear that the child will be denied opportunity.

A second factor in many communities is the fact of financial elections per se. When referred to the voters, they provide only "yes or no" alternatives. Recourses from a "no" vote are few and the effect can be shattering. Political action is the most frequent response: Organize and campaign. Sometimes, accommodations in requests are made; less building is planned or budgets are lowered. Then, however, there is grave doubt on both sides. Were the estimates inflated? Do the people really want good education? Understanding is hardly furthered.

* * * * *

The Problem

The first, the hardest, and the most neglected step in social research is the setting out of the problem. As many scientists have remarked, a solution may come by chance, but only if the problem is known. Our task is, after all, the systematic collection of information in a significant subject area. To collect anecdotes is interesting but frequently of little value in securing an answer to a specific problem. Anecdotal information and common sense are useful tools for the social scientist, but they lack the more general qualities of reliability and

validity for which we strive in well programmed research.

This study was intended to answer a specific question: How can understanding, obtained through effective communication, contribute to the support of public education -- an institution valued in our society? Although this question seems specific enough, the problem is far from that. Our purpose is to answer the question. But our methods must explicate the complex problem that is concealed in the question.

Let's take the question apart. Embedded in the question are three postulates: that the public values educational institutions, that an understanding public will support its schools, and, that understanding is a product of effective communication. We shall have to demonstrate the verity of these assertions in order to set the problem on firm grounds. Our best proof is empirical evidence, and we shall present such evidence from our research.

The importance of public values for education can not be overstated. Without such values, communication will not occur; no basis will be established for understanding. That the public values education has been shown. In recent years, three-fourths of the amount requested in bond issues has been approved (31). The public, particularly parents, takes an active part in school organizations and activities while, negatively, the concern for our educational products clearly evinces a profound value for the results of education (2). One can question, as the Rockefeller Report has recently (24), whether the public actually values education sufficiently. However, this sort of examination leads one to speculate on competing

values rather than to doubt public values for education. Seen in this light, our purpose becomes the study of conditions under which educational values are not subordinated to their competitors for community energies and resources. The value for education is still there. But what has happened to it?

This brings us to our second postulate -- that successful support for the schools rests on public understanding. More exactly, successful support is dependent on a state of understanding between schools and community. What evidence is there to demonstrate that mutual understanding leads to support for educational institutions? Logically, the assumption seems tenable. We can not imagine concerted action of the magnitude needed to support education without a minimum of agreement on the situation faced. But beyond this minimum, does more understanding bring a greater likelihood of support? The method for testing this postulate is illustrated in Figure 1.1. If, as in District A, the observers see the situation alike, the distance is small between them; if, as in District B, the observers see the situation dissimilarly, the distance between them is large. If we show the distances between all pairs of observers, we can obtain an average distance estimate for each community. Then we hypothesize that communities with better success records should have smaller distance estimates.

Figure 1.1. Hypothesized Distances between Three Observers in a Successful District, A, and in an Unsuccessful District, B.*



- * Distances are the D^2 values from summed generalized distance measures for observer pairs. The data are observer perceptions of their local school-community relationship. See the discussion below.
-

Table 1.1 shows the relationship of understanding to successful support of local educational institutions, using the D^2 measure. From two to five informants in 315 communities assessed the impact of 162 items in our Factor Evaluation Inventory (see Appendix D) in terms of their local situation. We assigned numerical values to their responses as follows:

- 1 -- Helping greatly
- 3 -- Helping some
- 5 -- No effect
- 7 -- Hurting some
- 9 -- Hurting greatly

As Table 1.1 shows, communities with decreasing distance averages -- that is, better understanding among observers -- have better success records.

Particularly, their success records are stable over longer periods of time. The more recent the last failure, the larger the distance measure. Districts that do not hold elections on financial issues do not achieve the level of understanding that characterizes continuously successful communities. (Although the hypothesized relationship is found, the lack of response to our mailed inquiries makes the estimates less reliable than we deem desirable. Few of the community averages are based on the desired five observers. In our initial work, we administered these inventories in person; in the second phase, we used mail questionnaires on a much larger, national sample.)

Table 1.1. Average Distances between Observers in Communities by Success Records in Financial Elections.*

<u>SUCCESS RECORD</u>	<u>COMMUNITY D^2 AVERAGE</u>
Success in last four elections (N=115)	956.0
Success in last two or three elections (N=44)	981.4
Success in last election (N=58)	998.3
Failure in last election (N=61)	1178.8
No elections held (N=37)	977.0

* The community D^2 average is the average distance between any pair of observers, where D^2 for a given pair is summed over 162 observations.

Our third assumption, that communications bring about a state of understanding, is endorsed by logic, observation, and research. There is no other way for understanding to occur except by communication. It has, in fact, become a truism that communication is the key to understanding. Indeed, the relationship is often over-emphasized. We hear many tell us that all failures in social interaction are attributable to deficiencies in communication. The simple categorical inference -- that troubles vanish if we but communicate more -- is deceptive. The answer we seek is not simply where and when to increase the amount of communicatory activity. Understanding does follow from communicatory activity, but not in any easy "more of one brings about more of the other" sense. We must know what to communicate -- that is, what is important to the needed understanding. We must know something of the context of communication. We must know what are effective means of communication -- the skills needed -- and through what channels communications best flow. To meet these objectives it is necessary to make clear the process of school-community relations, to see the place of understanding in this process, and then to see the applicability of communications to this process.

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A Model of Process: Communication

In building a model of the school-community interaction, we have begun with Newcomb's basic paradigm for communication (19), expanded then to follow Westley and MacLean's adaptation for mediated communication (32), and, with

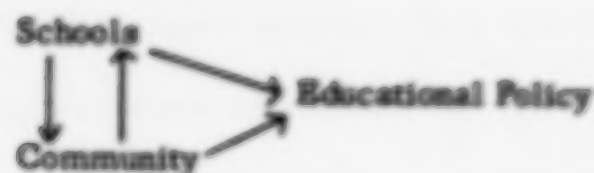
several further expansions, arrived at a statement of our problem in terms of a model of the process.

Newcomb introduces his paradigm by saying:

It is an almost constant human necessity to orient oneself toward objects in the environment and also toward other persons oriented toward these same objects. . . . Communication is the most common and usually the most effective means by which to do so.

His model is shown below in Figure 1.2. For our convenience, we have replaced his designations of the components with our subjects: the schools, the community, and educational policy. These general designations are preliminary; as we proceed, we shall look at the model in more detail.

Figure 1.2. A Basic Model for School and Community Interaction on Educational Policy: The Newcomb Paradigm.



Newcomb discusses four orientations in the interaction. Using our terms, they are:

1. The schools' orientation toward educational policy;
2. The community's orientation toward educational policy;
3. The schools' orientation toward the community;
4. The community's orientation toward the schools.

These orientations are represented in Figure 1.2 by the arrows. Newcomb says

that orientations include attitudes toward and beliefs about the designated component. Thus the community's orientation toward educational policy might well include an attitude toward present policy and beliefs about what belongs in such a policy.

A simple expansion in the above orientations shows that we have defined understanding as co-orientation. The orientations paired below show the co-orientations which contribute to understanding:

1. The schools' orientation toward educational policy/the community's orientation toward educational policy;
2. The schools' orientation toward the community/ the community's orientation toward the community;
3. The community's orientation toward the schools/ the schools' orientation toward the schools.

As the paired orientations coincide, understanding results. The process of co-orientation becomes clearer later in this chapter when we discuss the expanded paradigm in terms of the people who interact to formulate educational policy.

But first we must insert another component. Figure 1.3 shows a next expansion, as suggested by Westley and MacLean. They take note of the fact that many communications are mediated. Some agency reports information from one to another of two parties, say, from the schools to the community or from the community to the schools. The agency may help communication flow by furnishing a vehicle otherwise lacking, or it may hinder communications by censoring or distorting information.

Figure 1.3. Expanded Model for School and Community Interaction on Educational Policy: The Westley-MacLean Paradigm.



We have inserted the mediating agency only between schools and community. It is known, of course, that mediating agencies exist between educational policy and the schools or community. We see schools obtaining information from sources in government, higher education, and professional organizations with regard to educational policy. The mass media bring to the community information about educational policy. We have placed an arrow indicating an orientation of the mediating agency toward educational policy. Considering the voluntary nature of many of these agencies, the rewards for fulfilling this function would be few if they had no interest in educational policy itself.

The important mediating agencies in the school-community relationship are the school board, local mass media, local parent groups, citizen committees, and opposition groups. We may also see individuals in this role. Community leaders, teachers and principals, and informed citizens of many types fill this position. Of these, the school board deserves particular attention. It has the legal responsibility to give this service. Yet the board may be found acting for the

community, but in no way serving as an agency to communicate between the community and its schools. This failure is usually evidenced by a need to bring a citizens committee into being to fill the role vacated by the board.

As Table 1.2 shows, recognition of effective mediating agencies in the school-community relationship is somewhat related to success records in financial elections. The highest possible score for each success type is 6.0; that is, each informant interviewed could see each of six selected mediating agencies as helping some or greatly in local school-community relations. (The selection procedure gives different mediating agencies for each of three district sizes: large -- 12,000 and over, medium -- 3,000 to 11,999, and small -- 150 to 2,999. Selections were made on the basis of the relationship of the informants' perceptions of effectiveness and the actual local situation. A more extensive discussion is found in Appendix C.)

The role played by mediating agencies becomes a vital element in our attempt to explicate the ways in which communication may lead to school-community understanding. It makes more sense, for instance, to examine the ways in which a newspaper operates efficiently as a "go-between" than to study the effects of increasing the output of information from the schools to the newspaper. The role which a newspaper can play is much more significant than would be indicated by a count of stories published on school matters. For example, newspapers often constitute -- through "letters to the editors" columns -- a major source of information for the schools about the community.

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Table 1.2. Average Mediating Agency Effectiveness Scores in Communities by Success Records in Financial Elections.*

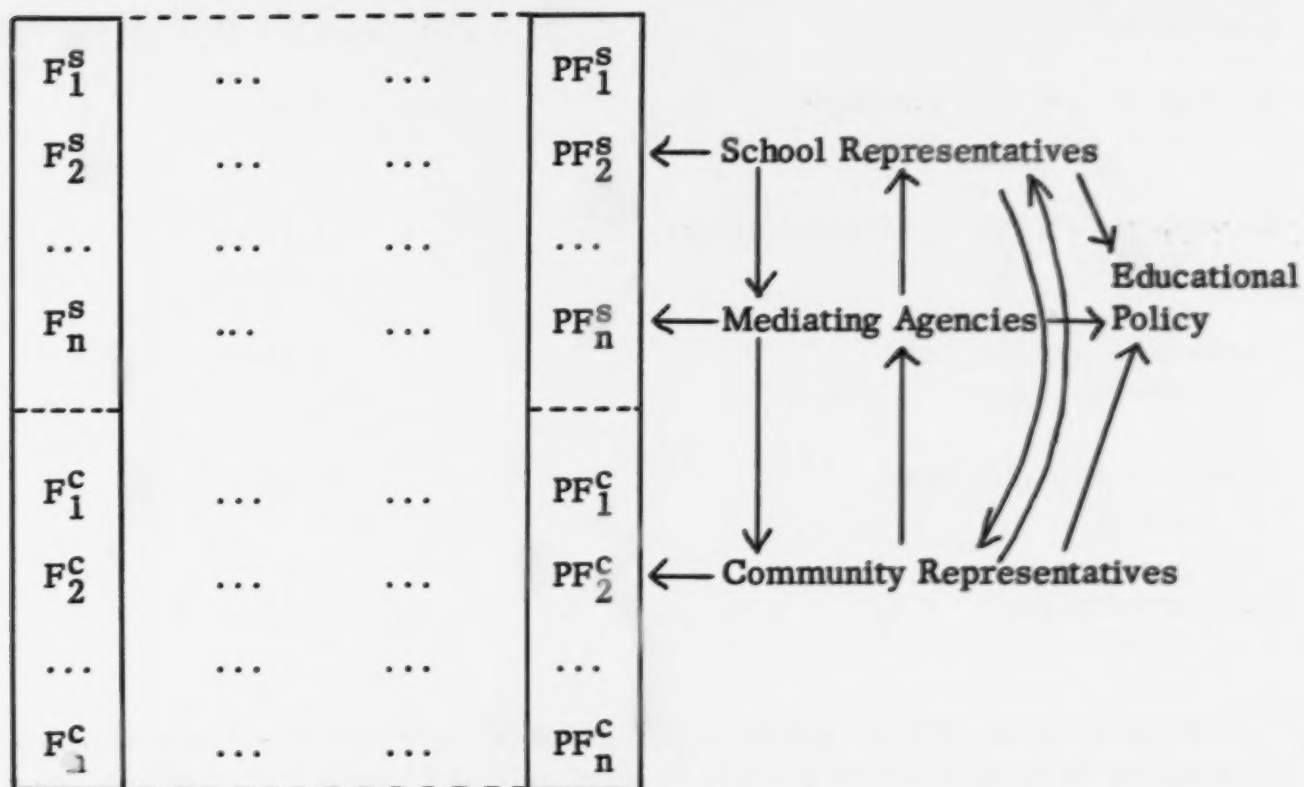
<u>SUCCESS RECORD</u>	<u>MEDIATING AGENCY EFFECTIVENESS</u>
Success in last four elections (N=115)	3.84
Success in last two or three elections (N=44)	3.72
Success in last election (N=58)	3.63
Failure in last election (N=61)	3.64
No elections held (N=37)	3.73

* Maximum score of 6.0, based on informant perceptions of selected mediating agencies helping some or greatly in local school-community relations. See Appendix C for selected mediating agencies used by district size.

A Model of Process: Perceived Factors

In our first versions of a model of process, we have designated as components such molar entities as schools, mediating agencies, and community. Understanding is attained by persons, however, and we must indicate this in the process if our model is to picture reality. What we have done, as illustrated in Figure 1.4, is to show the interaction on two levels: the actual factors entering into educational policy and the factors as perceived by participants. Understanding, as we have said, is the state of common perceptions by participants. Understanding may not

Figure 1.4. Expanded Model for School and Community Interaction on Educational Policy: Actual and Perceived Factors.*



* Where: F_n^S are the aspects of the school entering into determination of school-community relations;

PF_n^S are the aspects of the school as perceived by participants in school-community relations;

F_n^C are the aspects of the community entering into determination of school-community relations;

PF_n^C are the aspects of the community as perceived by participants in school-community relations.

overcome the effect of all other factors; but, holding other effects constant, it has been our contention that understanding will have a positive impact on school-community relations. The assessment of the effect of any given factor on

school-community relations -- as, for instance, community growth -- should be made on the first level, but any assessment that neglects the second level would be incomplete. Thus community growth is important as a fact, but of similar importance is the perception of community growth by participants in school-community relations and, also, the congruence of these perceptions -- the degree of understanding.

A complete picture of the school-community relationship will consider the relationship of the actual factors to determination of support and, in Chapter Six, we shall show several factors which have been explored with objective data. However, for the most part, estimates for the factors have been used in this report, based on the perceptions of informed persons in the school-community relationship.

The voter, called upon to weigh the needs of the schools against the resources of the community, looks to his perceptions of the schools and the community. His picture may be simple -- a balancing of the child's deprivation against the anticipated corollary condition in the pocketbook. However simple the picture, it is still the reality of the voting decision. The complex interaction of people and factors that objective study reveals in the school-community relationship can be translated, at voting time, into a number of very simple, passive decisions among voters. But to know why the pictures are superficial, to know why voters are passive toward full information, we need to know that complex interaction which appears only to the eyes of a few well informed observers.

The Institute for Communication Research found evidence that voters are passive and that they view a financial election in extremely general terms of need and cost (2). It is of consequence to know that voters make their decisions on these few criteria -- plus some rationalizations of their position -- and to know how these decisions are made. But it is of far more consequence to know, first, why the criteria are so restricted (why information is not used), and, second, what additional criteria are essential to a better understanding (what information is needed). We have noted that increases in size conspire to cut off the information flow and this probably accounts for the lack of criteria and the imperfect understanding. Only exhaustive research will show those factors which are essential, the factors which should be discussed, the necessary content of improved communication techniques.

* * * * *

An On-Going Process

Without further illustrative figures, we can point to factors which are aspects of the process as a whole and are thereby relevant to the communication procedures used to achieve an understanding of the situation. Policy determination is not the static process pictured in our models. These models are cross-sections of a process, slices which afford us convenient and helpful means for examining the process -- provided we take enough cross-sections. The decision process is a current of events that we must enter intelligently in order to secure beneficial changes. It is here that we must make a critical analysis of the communicative

abilities and techniques now being used in school-community relations. For it is by acts of communication that the process devolves.

A first specification is the mode of communication. It is useful to ask how and in what way effective interaction can result from communicatory activity. Consider the channels of communication. Information from schools to community or from community to schools can and does take many channels. We must ascertain what these channels are. We must know which channels are effective for what kinds of information. There is, for instance, an informal communication system that runs from the schools through the children to the parents. This system carries large amounts of school news to the community -- mostly about curriculum and student activities. We might question whether this system should be used to carry other information, such as school-released information on building needs. Similarly, teachers serve as spokesmen for the schools on many subjects. Voters perceive them as informed sources (2) and ask them questions about school needs. We might ask if teachers are prepared -- and willing -- to act in this capacity. Some communities find teachers (and particularly ex-teachers) the leaders in opposition to the schools.

Distinctions need to be made between wide channels (use of mass media or speeches before large groups) and narrow channels (use of personal contacts, singly or in small groups). Although fewer people may be reached by personal contact, the effect of such contact is so advantageous as to argue for adoption (2). When we recall our concern with co-orientation in our models, we can see the clear

advantage in the use of personal contacts. Establishing co-orientation via mass media and speeches is made doubly difficult by the relatively short "apprehension period" preceding votes on school financial issues and the very great likelihood that messages will not get the attention of those most in need of them.

A further item in the mode of communication is the question of timing.

There are times in crisis situations where the community is split wide open, when the introduction of any communication will only encrust the factions with defensive statements. Many factors are contingent in terms of their significance on where they appear in the on-going process. It is common knowledge that some financial issues fail following concerted, last-minute assaults. Observers suggest that these eleven o'clock moves succeed because retaliatory communication is impossible. Would answers to the charges reverse the decision? Can communication be so powerful?

Another question is the rigidity of the mode. Has traditional usage made a mode of communication ineffective? We find voters who say they know what to expect from reading the local newspaper or from listening to the superintendent of schools. Usually this means they will not attend to the message. There is something to be gained in efficiency by regular use of certain modes for informative messages. On the other hand, something may be lost by constant, unvaried usage.

Of next concern here is the ability to communicate effectively. Gross (6) found superintendents in Massachusetts acknowledging their shortcomings in public relations. He also found board members pointing to the same shortcoming.

School communicators, community spokesmen, and mediating agents must have some functional relevance to the situation as it evolves. The roles they take must fit into the on-going process. Everyone is familiar with the committee organized to end controversy. Everyone knows of some failures, of inspired but poorly organized attempts to create -- or recreate -- harmony. Too often the failure results from a lack of definition in the roles the committee and its members are to play.

An additional question of relevancy is that of the appropriateness of communicators to the subjects they discuss, to the audience they address, and to the channels they use. Should the superintendent speak for the schools on business matters or will the business manager be more effective -- saying the same things? Which persons in the schools, in the community, or in mediating roles are "in their element" when they communicate? Among school spokesmen, should some avoid personal appearances and use the mass media, should others avoid public appearances before large audiences and concentrate on personal contact at the individual level?

The most exacting requirement for communicators is that they know the process itself, that they be able to recognize the salient elements in the situation. Complete analysis of this ability among leaders in school-community relations must await an objective assessment of the situation compared with leader perceptions of the situation. Trusty (28), as reported in Chapter Three, has obtained some estimates of the judgmental ability of the various informants who have been asked

to assess their local situation.

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The Process as a Whole: Its Environment

There are several characteristics of the process as a whole that result from environmental conditions. It is entirely possible that many of the factors which enter into the process are attenuated in their effect by the over-riding nature of these conditions. Two such environmental conditions are the legal structuring of the process with its political ramifications and the professionalization of the administrator's role with its political ramifications.

Not only increased size has made the interaction of schools and community more difficult. Laws governing the selection of board members, their terms of office, and the areas which they represent may affect the working of the process -- for instance, making the board more or less responsive to the electorate and thereby altering its usefulness as a mediating agency. If mediating agencies are as important to the school-community relationship as we believe them to be, then such laws can severely constrain the process. Newell (20), as reported in Chapter Four, has studied these factors in direct relation to success records in financial elections, along with factors dealing with the fiscal characteristics of school districts. We remarked earlier that members of the community are now frequently restricted to periodic votes on financial issues as a means of expressing their views on educational policy. Laws have contributed to this situation directly by placing responsibility for initiating policy in the hands of elected officials. But voters

still have a veto power. In part, the extent of their power is the extent of their participation. Little is known about the effect of varying participation at the polls. Speculation argues both ways, that a small turnout assures success and that a large turnout assures success. Savard (25), as reported in Chapter Five, has studied success records in terms of the level of turnout at elections. He has also investigated the legal characteristics of districts to see whether they are related to turnout. These two studies are a significant beginning toward a knowledge of the effect of legal structures on school-community relations.

As size and legal structures combine to make the schools a system apart from the community, subject only to review, the administrators of schools have had to learn the politics of survival. Studies of power politics in the community (Pierce, et al, 22; Hunter, 10; and Coleman, 3) and of internal functioning of the schools as a system (notably, by Halpin, 9) exemplify the independent state many school systems have reached, and offer the administrator advice on how to survive. When the voter says "no," something is lost besides an election. Existence is the basis of survival, but for a school system it is not sufficient. Its criterion for survival must always be adequacy, not merely existence.

In this context, professionalization of the administrator role has been inevitable. Events demand that he have special skills for running a large organization and for communicating to a distant public. If the latter does not produce the needed support for his system -- and there are those who not only think it does not but can not -- he must become an astute politician. At this point, however, the

instrument for survival is not understanding but the campaign; communication practices surrender to manipulative techniques.

In Chapter Two, we shall present evidence that informed observers of school-community relations see conditions in their districts which indicate that struggles for survival burden many relationships. Our preliminary interviews suggested and our final interviews confirmed that the school-community relationship can be thought of as a tenuously balanced seesaw of forces. Two conditions seen by observers led us to this conclusion. The first is that leadership is greatly concerned with maintaining its balance, with quieting disruptive influences, and avoiding controversy. The second is probably the basis for the first, for it is observed that factors usually are perceived as positive or negative, associated either with successful relations or unsuccessful relations, but not both. Thus, for instance, opposition is never seen as helping; it is always a countervailing force; or, if it is absent, its force is missing and only indirectly helpful to the schools. Similarly, an administrator's professional abilities can help the schools, but their absence does not necessarily add force to the negative side of the balance, except that the positive side may fail to find substitute forces in their place.

A good illustration of the problem is to be found among conservative voters. They will tend to oppose any new program of considerable cost. It is virtually impossible to convert these people -- as the political campaigners know -- but their force can be countered with larger numbers of potentially favorable voters.

Thinking of the factors as weights, then, weights may be taken off or put on either side of the balance but it is difficult to transfer weights from one side to the other. We do not say that this condition is necessarily so; but we are convinced that it is typically so.

Summary and Conclusions

Our study of school-community understanding as a basis for support of public education rests on three postulates:

1. The people have sufficient value for education to try to understand its problems.
2. An understanding of the situation is essential to any stable support of public education.
3. Understanding is the result of effective communications.

These postulates are discussed and evidence introduced to sustain them.

A model of the process of school-community relations has been developed, drawing on paradigms of communicatory behavior by Newcomb and Westley and MacLean. The model, after Newcomb, stresses the importance of orientations of the parties in communication -- toward each other and toward a common goal. We have defined understanding as co-orientation, a sharing of the same perceptions of the situation. Without understanding, we have said, support must come from acquiescence.

Mediating agencies play a significant role in our model. We have said that

many of the communications between schools and community pass through mass media, citizen committees, parent groups, school boards, and opposition groups. These agencies have their own orientations toward the other parties in communication and toward educational policy. What they do to the messages, in passing or blocking them, has its effects on school-community relations.

We have distinguished perceptions of the process of school-community relations from the actual situation. Whatever the perceptions of persons involved in school-community relations, the actuality of the situation may dictate the resultant educational policy -- e.g., through inadequate financial resources. However, perceptions are real too. Persons acting on their perceptions are the determinants of the state of understanding. In the case of the average voter, perceptions are severely constricted; he sees a relatively simple situation -- the needs of the child versus the resources of the individual. Informed observers in the community are able to give a more complete description of the situation, we have assumed, and we have used such observations as first estimates of the actual situation.

The process of school-community relations is an on-going one, a process which has built up traditional paths. We have argued the necessity of knowing these paths and of analyzing their part in the process. To communicate effectively in this process, we have said that it is necessary to know when to communicate, what to communicate, and who should do the communicating to what audiences.

The process of school-community relations does not exist in a vacuum. We have noted that legal provisions affect the working of the process, and asked what effects these provisions have on the process. Along with increases in district size, legal requirements have widened the gap between schools and community, often leaving the voter with only a veto power on educational policy. This has made the voter more passive, we have concluded, and made the communication problem much more difficult.

Another effect of the widened gap between schools and community has been the necessity for administrators to practice politics in order to survive. Preliminary results in our work showed this to be a characteristic condition of most school-community relationships. Data are presented in Chapter Two to further substantiate this inference.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT MAKES A DIFFERENCE IN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS?

What makes a difference in school-community relations? Some would answer: "The factor of _____ makes the real difference in our community." Any one factor, however, does not emerge in every community. In some places it is said to be the economic capability of the school district. Elsewhere, it may be the local political structure; it may be "the conservative nature of voters;" it may be one of a hundred factors. The "difference" factor may be positive, facilitating comfortable relations; it may be negative, burdening the relationship. Part of our task as we have seen it has been to find out which factors do make a difference, to know the full range of factors and yet to reduce the array to the more important ones. In this chapter we shall report our initial efforts in this area.

What makes a difference in school-community relations? Some would answer: "Anything can make a difference -- we're on the edge of our seats all the time." As we remarked in the previous chapter, many school-community relationships remind us of balances, ready to swing either way under the weight of competing forces. We see in this phenomenon a similarity to the conditions social scientists describe when they talk of general systems theory. They see social as well as

physical systems with identifiable properties: input energies, output energies, control mechanisms, boundaries, and -- importantly -- life. There are many other properties of systems as systems, but the schools have this one need in common with other systems: they must continue to exist. And those energies dissipated in maintaining the balance are not available for growth. In this chapter we shall discuss the schools as a system separate from, but existing in, the community. We shall introduce a theoretical framework for considering in this context the data we have gathered.

We started our search for factors relevant to school-community relations in the literature. Summary works by Moore (18), Ovsiew (21), Pierce et al (22), and Ramseyer et al (23) furnished literally hundreds of potential factors. To evaluate each of these was impossible, so we instead started anew, using categories derived from these studies only as categories under which to group data. Our plan was to ask persons in a position to know about school-community relations -- whom we have designated "informants" -- what had contributed to specific financial events in school-community relations. We adopted the focused interview technique of Merton, Fiske, and Kendall (16), probing each specific incident for its antecedent conditions. The persons we interviewed were superintendents, board members, PTA leaders, civic officials, mass media executives, and opposition group leaders. After pretesting the procedure, we added non-directive questions at the end of the interview to cover categories which did not come up in reference to specific incidents.

Our first criterion in selecting a factor for further study was that at least two informants in a community had to report this factor as relevant to local school-community relations. Following 49 community interviews, with at least five interviews per community ranging from two to four hours each, we had 110 factors which were thus identified. We also had some new categories, principally dealing with communications behavior by school personnel, by community representatives, and by mediating agencies in the school-community relationship.

We had visited every section of the country, we had found a surfeit of factors, but we felt we had to start again. Now, however, we had an advantage; we could structure the interview. We retained the focused interview technique, but our questions were based on topics in the fifteen areas we obtained in the first round of interviewing. These categories are:

1. School-community relations: elections
2. School-community relations: non-elections
3. Mediating agencies: school board
4. Mediating agencies: mass media
5. Mediating agencies: voluntary organizations
6. School characteristics: personnel
7. School characteristics: students
8. School characteristics: educational officials (non-local)
9. School characteristics: procedural
10. School characteristics: administrators' attributes
11. Community characteristics
12. Community voter characteristics
13. School originated communications
14. Community originated communications
15. Communications from mediating agencies.

Under each category, the interviewer was given general questions and specific probes to use (See Appendix D for the form used). At the end of the focused

interview, the informant was asked to summarize his observations using a Factor Evaluation Sheet, which asked for an opinion as to whether the factor was helping or hurting school-community relations and how important it was. The latter instrument was also mailed to every previously interviewed informant. Analysis of the results suggested the theoretical formulation we shall present later in the chapter.

After pretesting, the new interview guide was used with five or more informants in 22 additional communities throughout the United States. Analysis of these results pushed the factor total to 162. Our sampling to this point had been largely purposive, seeking a variety of conditions: geographic, cultural, economic, size, and -- particularly -- differing school-community relations. Now we could proceed with finality, however. We compiled a Factor Evaluation Inventory of the 162 factors for distribution by mail to a national sample of school districts. This inventory is reproduced in Appendix D (it is also the only listing of all 162 factors investigated). A national sample of 1054 school districts was drawn by the U. S. Census Bureau from its district records, stratified by enrollment into three categories: large -- 12,000 and above; medium -- 3,000 to 11,999; and small -- 150 to 2,999. This represents 97% of the school population, but omits a myriad of districts with fewer than 150 pupils. (Details of the sampling are given in Appendix B.)

A preliminary step was then taken. The 1054 school district superintendents were asked to supply an eleven year record of their financial elections and to

answer questions concerning their local legal characteristics. (This furnished the data for the analysis of legal characteristics related to success records and the analysis of turnout at financial elections reported in Chapters Four and Five.) Superintendents were also asked to supply the names and addresses of four other potential informants in their community -- according to the specifications we set out.

We drew a subsample of 408 districts, stratified by both size and financial record, and sent Factor Evaluation Inventories to the designated informants. The replies to these questionnaires supplied the data on significant factors reported in this chapter.

* * * * *

Factors That Help

In both successful and failing school-community relations some factors are always perceived as helping. As shown in Figures 2.1 and 2.2, the majority have to do with students and their activities and with the relationships developed between schools and community.

Factors concerning students are: student programs -- band, plays, debates, etc.; student achievement and recognition; student athletics; and, student pride in school.

Successful relationships developed between schools and community are: open houses to inform public; parent-teacher conferences; relations between

Figure 2.1. Factors Seen as Helping in Success Communities by Size of District:
Top 15. (Abstracted from Table A. 1.)

Large	DISTRICT SIZE: Medium	Small
Schools' use of open houses to inform public	Parent-Teacher Assns. and parent clubs	Student programs -- band, plays, debates, etc.
Student programs -- band, plays, debates, etc.	Schools' use of open houses to inform public	Schools' use of open houses to inform public
Student achievement and recognition	Parent-teacher conferences	Availability of school facilities for community use
Administrators' professional qualifications for the job	Student programs -- band, plays, debates, etc.	Parent-teacher conferences
Parent-teacher conferences	Relations between parents and teachers	Student achievement and recognition
Availability of school facilities for community use	Student achievement and recognition	Relations between parents and teachers
Relations between teachers and parents	Special services -- guidance, health, etc.	Administrators' professional qualifications for the job
Voters' pride in schools	Relations between teachers and students	Student pride in the schools
Programs for retarded children	Availability of school facilities for community use	Special services -- guidance, health, etc.
Long-range planning	Schools' relations with civic institutions -- libraries, playgrounds	Administrators' values, beliefs, and goals

Figure 2.1. Factors Seen as Helping in Success Communities (continued).

Large	DISTRICT SIZE: Medium	Small
Student athletics	Administrators' professional qualifications for the job	Relations between administrators and parents
Parent-Teacher Assns. and parent clubs	Student athletics	Student athletics
Public meetings sponsored by the PTA	Civic or service clubs	Quality of teachers
Relations between teachers and students	Quality of teachers	Administrators' educational philosophy
Student pride in the schools	Long-range planning	Parent-Teacher Assns. and parent clubs
	Public meetings sponsored by the PTA	

Figure 2.2. Factors Seen as Helping in Failure Communities by Size of District: Top 15. (Abstracted from Table A. 3.)

Large	DISTRICT SIZE: Medium	Small
Student programs -- band, plays, debates, etc.	Student programs -- band, plays, debates, etc.	Student programs -- band, plays, debates, etc.
Programs for retarded children	Relations between teachers and parents	Relations between teachers and parents
Schools' use of open houses to inform public	Student achievement and recognition	Student achievement and recognition
Parent-Teacher Assns. and parent clubs	Parent-Teacher Assns. and parent clubs	Parent-teacher conferences

Figure 2.2. Factors Seen as Helping in Failure Communities (continued).

Large	DISTRICT SIZE: Medium	Small
Parent-teacher conferences	Availability of school facilities for community use	Schools' use of open houses to inform public
Campaigning for schools by PTA members	Relations between administrators and parents	Student athletics
Relations between teachers and parents	Parent-teacher conferences	Parent-Teacher Assns. and parent clubs
Student achievement and recognition	Student athletics	Administrators' values, beliefs, and goals
Administrators' values, beliefs, and goals	Administrators' values, beliefs, and goals	Availability of school facilities for community use
Quality of teachers	Mass media coverage of school activities	Administrators' professional qualifications for the job
Public meetings sponsored by the PTA	Schools' use of informal or face-to-face contact	Relations between teachers and students
Relations between teachers and students	Relations between teachers and students	Special services -- guidance, health, etc.
Mass media coverage of school activities	Student pride in school	Administrators' educational philosophy
Relations between administrators and parents	Administrators' personal characteristics	Administrators' personal characteristics
Student pride in school	Administrators as community leaders	Relations between administrators and parents

teachers and parents; Parent-Teacher Associations and parent clubs; public meetings sponsored by the PTA; campaigning by the PTA; mass media coverage of the schools; relations with civic institutions -- e.g., libraries, playground programs; and, informal contacts.

The administrators' professional qualifications, their relations with parents and their values, beliefs, and goals are important factors in all districts. In the smaller districts, however, several other factors are deemed important contributions to success by our informants: personal characteristics of administrators, their educational philosophy, and their capabilities as community leaders. In larger districts, long-range planning by the administration is considered a helpful factor.

The staff contributes in two ways according to our informants: in their relations with students and in the quality of teaching staff.

Three areas of services by the schools are also seen by our informants as helping in both successful and failing relationships: availability of school facilities for community use; programs for retarded children; and, special services for students -- e.g., health, guidance, transportation, etc.

Only in successful relationships are any voter or community characteristics seen as important helping factors. These factors are: voter pride in schools and local civic or service clubs.

Three factors not appearing in the top 15 in Figures 2.1 and 2.2 but which are commonly perceived in all districts as contributing to successful school-

community relations are: relations between administrators and local school board,
voter pride in community, and services for community by school personnel.

* * * * *

Factors That Help:
Differences by District Size

In the following discussion, comparisons are made among districts by size using the rankings reported in Appendix A, Table A. 1. The figures in parentheses, e.g. (L-10;M-20;S-30), indicate the respective factor rankings by district size -- large, medium, and small.

The greater importance of mediating agencies in larger districts is clearly shown in the following rankings:

Mass media attitude toward schools	(L-33;M-29;S-50)
Mass media coverage of school activities	(L-17;M-20;S-36)
Cooperation between mass media and schools	(L-18;M-29;S-42)
Public meetings sponsored by PTA	(L-11;M-14;S-37)
Bulletins published by PTA	(L-45;M-55;S-86)
Campaigning for schools by PTA members	(L-25;M-27;S-63)
School board members' qualifications	(L-45;M-68;S-70)
Joint school-community programs	(L-29;M-49;S-66)

In smaller districts, direct communication between schools and community is perceived to be more helpful:

Schools' participation in community events	(L-80;M-60;S-35)
Schools' use of public meetings	(L-64;M-49;S-45)
Schools' use of informal contacts	(L-38;M-37;S-31)

The services which schools are able to provide are more often seen as helpful in large districts:

Adult education program	(L-49;M-55;S-74)
Summer programs	(L-67;M-97;S-109)
Programs for gifted children	(L-49;M-68;S-111)
Programs for retarded children	(L-9;M-42;S-84)

There is, of course, the increased likelihood that these programs exist in larger districts.

The staff of the schools is a more important determinant in the smaller districts according to our informants:

Quality of teaching staff	(L-32;M-14;S-13)
Staff morale	(L-56;M-46;S-21)
Loyalty of staff to administration	(L-59;M-44;S-25)
Relations between administration and teachers	(L-49;M-44;S-28)
Relations between admin. and non-teaching staff	(L-98;M-81;S-65)

Smaller district informants are most likely to see their community and school district characteristics as important factors in helping school-community relations:

Stability of population	(L-111;M-92;S-81)
Community growth	(L-118;M-94;S-81)
State aid to schools	(L-68;M-48;S-32)
State legal requirements affecting schools	(L-102;M-83;S-66)

The differences according to district size are evident in the importance attached to these administrative characteristics:

Administrators' personal characteristics	(L-42;M-25;S-16)
--	------------------

But:

Quality of central office staff	(L-22;M-34;S-57)
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Overall, the differences illustrate how the increase in size of a school district brings with it the need for extra communicatory resources for maintaining

effective relations with the community. There is also an indication that some of these resources are turned to political action on behalf of the schools. Thus, those agencies such as the mass media that have ethical positions of neutrality to uphold may find themselves in difficulty -- between competing forces rather than between parties seeking understanding.

* * * * *

Factors That Hurt

In Figures 2.3 and 2.4, those factors are reported which our informants told us most often hurt the school-community relationship. These factors tend to be the same in both successful and failing relations, only more prevalent in failure situations. None are the same factors as those seen helping. Thus, as we shall see, a poor economic situation may be seen to hurt, but a good economic situation will not necessarily be perceived as helping.

With a few notable exceptions, the factors which are seen hurting are grouped about the stable opposition to school policies. Such voter characteristics are: unorganized chronic critics of schools; organized chronic critics of schools; attitude of voters toward taxes; attitude of voters (in smaller districts) toward business outlook; conservative nature of voters; and turnout for school elections.

A similar focus on the political nature of opposition is seen in these factors associated with the communication process: use of mass media by opposition to schools; bulletins or letters published by opposition; quality of opposition techniques; public meetings sponsored by opposition; and, in smaller districts, lack of agree-

**Figure 2.3. Factors Seen as Hurting in Failure Communities by Size of District:
Top 15. (Abstracted from Table A.2.)**

Large	DISTRICT SIZE:	
	Medium	Small
Attitude of voters toward taxes	Attitude of voters toward taxes	Attitude of voters toward taxes
Use of mass media by opposition to schools	Unorganized chronic critics of schools	Unorganized chronic critics of schools
Unorganized chronic critics of schools	Conservative nature of voters	Students quitting school before graduation
National criticism about education	National criticism about education	Conservative nature of voters
Bulletins or letters published by opposition	Quality of opposition techniques	Quality of opposition techniques
Quality of opposition techniques	Bulletins or letters published by opposition	Use of mass media by opposition to schools
Students quitting school before graduation	Students quitting school before graduation	Bulletins or letters published by opposition
Organized chronic critics of schools	Use of mass media by opposition to schools	National criticism about education
Public meetings sponsored by opposition to schools	Property assessment procedures	Organized chronic critics of schools
Voter turnout at school elections	Organized chronic critics of schools	Property assessment procedures
Conservative nature of voters	Political pressures in community	Lack of agreement among school representatives in election campaign
Staff organizations -- unions	Public meetings sponsored by opposition to schools	Public meetings sponsored by opposition to schools

Figure 2.3. Factors Seen as Hurting in Failure Communities (continued).

Large	DISTRICT SIZE:	
	Medium	Small
Political pressures in community	Voter turnout at school elections	Attitudes of voters toward business outlook
Property assessment procedures	Attitude of voters toward business outlook	Voter turnout at school elections
Community growth	Community growth	Turnover of staff
		Relations between communities within school district

Figure 2.4. Factors Seen as Hurting in Success Communities by Size of District: Top 15. (Abstracted from Table A. 4.)

Large	DISTRICT SIZE:	
	Medium	Small
Students quitting school before graduation	Unorganized chronic critics of schools	Students quitting school before graduation
National criticism about education	Students quitting school before graduation	Unorganized chronic critics of schools
Unorganized chronic critics of schools	How staff is assigned	Attitudes of voters toward taxes
Political pressures in community	National criticism about education	Conservative nature of voters
Attitude of voters toward taxes	Attitude of voters toward taxes	National criticism about education
Bulletins or letters published by opposition	Conservative nature of voters	Quality of opposition techniques

Figure 2.4. Factors Seen as Hurting in Success Communities (continued).

Large	DISTRICT SIZE: Medium	Small
Community growth	Political pressures in community	Lack of agreement among school representatives in election campaigns
Conservative nature of voters	Quality of opposition techniques	Consolidation or unifika- tion of schools
Use of mass media by opposition to schools	Use of mass media by opposition to schools	Community's holding power on youth
Turnover of staff	Property assessment procedures	Use of mass media by opposition to schools
Racial composition of population	Bulletins or letters published by opposition	Bulletins or letters published by opposition
Organized chronic critics of schools	Community's holding power on youth	Tenure practices -- hiring and firing of staff
Quality of opposition techniques	Lack of agreement among school representatives in election campaigns	Attitude of voters toward business outlook
Staff organizations -- unions	Organized chronic critics of schools	Student behavior
Mass media and their executives concerned with themselves only	Administrators' reaction to outside pressures	Property assessment procedures
	Stability of population	

ment among school representatives.

Only three other factors are found in the top 15 factors for all district sizes:

students quitting school before graduation, national criticisms of education, and property assessment procedures.

In larger districts, political pressures in the community, community growth and racial composition of the community are seen by our observers as hurting the relationship of school and community. Staff organizations such as unions are seen as a problem factor in larger districts. There also appears in larger districts a perception that some mass media and their executives are concerned with themselves only. (As we noted earlier, this might well be expected given the independent role the media desire to play in a political conflict.)

In smaller districts, there are problems associated with a lack of resources. These factors are perceived to hurt: community's lack of holding power on youth; staff turnover; lack of consolidation or unification of schools (and, as a result, relations between communities within the district). Student behavior is also seen as hurting, but more significantly in successful relationships. The same is true for staff tenure practices in smaller districts.

A number of factors fail to appear in the top 15, but are consistently named in all districts as hurting in the school-community relationship. Three associated with the economic situation are: low level of community wealth -- economic base, poor distribution of community wealth, and inadequate sources of community wealth. Others are: duration of tax levy extension, voters' lack of understanding of schools' needs, private and parochial schools, and administrators' reaction to outside pressures.

* * * * *

Factors That Hurt:
Differences by District Size

We have already reported differences in major factors by district size. The larger districts experience difficulty with the factors associated with increased size. The smaller districts suffer because of resources lacking in small communities. Further differences are given below from results reported in Table A.2., Appendix A.

Another ramification of increased size is shown below in the staff problems of larger districts:

Staff organizations -- e.g., unions	(L-10;M-25;S-31)
Salary policies for staff	(L-20;M-41;S-34)
Internal organization of district staff	(L-93;M-96;S-135)
Relations between adm. and teachers	(L-59;M-79;S-85)

In a previous section, we saw that larger districts were helped relatively more than smaller districts by the mass media. Their dependence on the mass media is also evident in several negative aspects of their relationship with the media. These factors hurt more in larger districts:

Mass media attitude toward schools	(L-78;M-69;S-105)
Mass media and their executives as community leaders	(L-59;M-110;S-115)
Mass media and their executives concerned with themselves only	(L-22;M-30;S-35)
Mass media as watchdogs of public servants and public monies	(L-26;M-30;S-51)
Competition among the mass media	(L-56;M-66;S-85)

Several characteristics of the community make school-community relations more difficult in larger districts:

Chamber of Commerce	(L-78;M-104;S-140)
Large taxpayers	(L-27;M-39;S-35)
Labor unions	(L-78;M-90;S-115)

Smaller communities, however, suffer much more from characteristics of the community:

Age distribution of population	(L-40;M-23;S-19)
Occupations of population	(L-69;M-69;S-30)
Educational level of population	(L-62;M-39;S-19)
Commuting to other communities	(L-62;M-77;S-39)
Size of district	(L-53;M-57;S-27)
Type of district	(L-91;M-54;S-45)

Our informants also see the administrative role to be more critical as a source of failure in smaller districts:

Administrators' reaction to outside pressure	(L-33;M-28;S-24)
Administrators as community leaders	(L-127;M-135;S-75)
Relations between adm. and students	(L-141;M-101;S-64)

Before we turn to the balance of positive and negative factors that seems to characterize many school-community relationships, we should note two possible exceptions. The mass media in larger districts and the administrator in smaller districts appear able to act as both positive and negative forces, although different characteristics are involved when they do so.

* * * * *

A Theoretical Formulation

There is no necessary reason that factors should be arrayed as uniquely positive or negative. The quality of the teaching staff, for instance, should go both ways: when it is bad, it should be harmful; when it is good, it should be

helpful, and we know that some staffs are better than others. Yet, when quality of the teaching staff is perceived as an important factor, it is usually in the success of the school-community relationship. Reviewing the rankings reported above, we see the same picture of positive factors balanced off against negative factors.

We performed a test of this balancing situation. We said that if the situation was as we deduced it to be, the correlation should be negligible between factor rankings by actual positive and negative influence. There is a difference here from the rankings we have just been discussing. These rankings -- of the predictive power of a ranking -- differ from the significance rankings we used earlier in this chapter. The difference can be seen by reference to the four-fold table paradigm in Figure 2.5. The significance rankings we have been using are the respective cell entries divided by the total number in the sample. Thus, for instance, the ranking of factors that help in success communities is determined by the proportion, A/N . However, to rank factors by their unique association with either success or failure, the proportions A/n_1 and D/n_2 are used. To test the balance concept, therefore, we correlated the rankings of factors by these two proportions. Ordinarily, we should expect there to be a high positive correlation. Usually, when a factor is related to another factor, the relationship is regularly linear or curvilinear. But not here, we theorized. Where A/n_1 was highest, D/n_2 would be indeterminate. (Had we used the significance rankings, A/N and D/N , then where A/N was highest, D/N would be lowest, and the correlation negative rather than negligible -- but artifactually, for where A is high, D is low, merely because n_1 is high and n_2 is low.)

Figure 2.5. Four-fold Table Paradigm for Factor Rankings by Proportions of Informants Perceiving Factors as Positive or Negative in Success or Failure Relationships.*

<u>TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP</u>	<u>FACTOR SEEN BY INFORMANT AS:</u>		
	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Success	A	B	1 ^a
Failure	C	D	2 ^a
Totals:	n ₁	n ₂	N

* The criterion for failure designation is that one of the last four financial elections was defeated.

As Table 2.1 shows, the correlation between the A/n_1 and D/n_2 rankings is low in all three size districts. Unfortunately, the same phenomenon that tends to locate all factors on one side of the balance or the other leads to small numbers of cases in many instances for either n_1 or n_2 . Another problem is the identification of a failure community. No community is likely to have continuous failure in financial elections. Adjustments are made and issues are finally passed. But is the relationship now a successful one? We have been concerned with this problem and have made the development of a better success criterion a prime objective in our research. The extent to which the theoretical formulation proposed here is descriptive of the school-community relationship will determine our initial accomplishment in this aim.

Table 2.1. Rank Correlations between Positive and Negative Factors. *

<u>DISTRICT SIZE</u>	<u>CORRELATION</u>
Large	.149
Medium	.171
Small	.173

* Ranks based on A/n_1 and D/n_2 proportions, as indicated in Figure 2.5.

Given the basic postulate that the school-community relationship is a balance between unique positive forces and unique negative forces, the most likely goal of any party to the relationship is to first maintain the balance. This need for equilibrium is characteristic of all systems, according to general systems theory. But it need not be a static state. Easton (4) cites a neutral equilibrium state, where the balance is maintained, but not always in the same position. Progress is therefore possible. However, if the equilibrium state is to be neutral and not static, there has to be an adequate means for maintaining equilibrium while yet moving ahead. Here, we would suggest, is where understanding becomes critical. If the balance is one of competing parties, each ignorant of the situation, then any change is a precarious undertaking. Destructive swings in the balance may occur before equilibrium is restored at a new position. But if the level of understanding is relatively high, stability characterizes the evolution of the relationship.

There is no a priori reason why any financial issue should fail. Thus we might consider any failure of a financial issue to be a "destructive swing in the

balance." And, given the existing balance position, we should be able to predict the likelihood of failure on the basis of the state of understanding. We have made an analysis of our data to see if we can sustain this deduction. Table 2.2 shows the effect of level of understanding among the recent failure relationships, where the weighted ratio is lower than it is for the positive/negative factor ratio taken alone. The continuous success relationship is given a constant ratio of 100.0 in order to make the comparison easier.

Table 2.2. Positive/Negative Factor Ratios and Positive/Negative-Understanding Ratios by Success Records in Financial Elections.*

<u>SUCCESS RECORD</u>	<u>POSITIVE/NEGATIVE RATIO</u>	<u>POSITIVE/NEGATIVE- UNDERSTANDING RATIO</u>
Success in last four elections (N=115)	100.0	100.0
Success in last two or three elections (N=44)	72.3	70.9
Success in last election (N=58)	65.2	68.8
Failure in last election (N=61)	62.6	55.3
No elections held (N=37)	87.7	85.0

- * Positive/Negative ratios were computed from the number of informant perceptions of factors helping or hurting in a given school-community relationship, using only the top ten factors from Figures 2.1 and 2.3.

Positive/Negative-Understanding ratios were computed by multiplying the positive/negative ratio by the reverse of the D^2 measure for understanding in a given school-community relationship.

Both ratios were then converted to a common base to show relative discriminative power.

The results reported in Table 2.2 indicate that we have a good start toward development of a better criterion of school-community relations than the fortuitous incidence of elections. Two elements obviously should go into this criterion: estimates of the positive and negative factors and an estimate of the level of understanding. Both are necessarily crude here. We have used only twenty of the 162 factors and have not attached any differentiating weights to them. The D^2 measure is taken from observations of two or five informants, the lower number being the more frequent. Yet we find good reason to think this will be a productive avenue toward better knowledge of the process of school-community relations.

Formally, the theory is as follows:

Postulate 1. The effects of the several factors in a school-community relationship are unique to either success or failure.

Theorem 1. A school-community relationship is a function of a balance between unique positive factors and unique negative factors in a given relationship.

Postulate 2. The growth of a school-community relationship is dependent on its continued stability.

Theorem 2. A school-community relationship is a function of the level of understanding among parties to the relationship.

Theorem 3. A school-community relationship is a multiplicative function of the balance between unique positive factors and unique negative factors and the level of understanding among parties to the relationship.

• • • • •

Implications of the Theory

Several features of this theory are very appealing. One is its simplicity. We find it very encouraging to see a way of dealing with the multitude of factors in many different school-community relations as though there were but a few variables to understand and measure. But not only we as researchers benefit from this simplicity. Just as it becomes easier for us to encompass the situation we are studying, so will it be easier for leadership in school and community to recognize its task. The planning for progress must still treat the myriad factors in the situation; it must yet meet the problems of day-to-day direction. But at least there is now a promise of a basically simple framework in which to work, and from which to derive the principles necessary for development.

A second feature of the theory is its generality. Because it regards the school-community relationship as a problem in systems, the theory can be applied to any such relationship. Planning need not be singular to a given situation; much can be learned of the specific system from the study of the general relationship. Again, because we stipulate that this is a problem in systems, we are able to adduce knowledge from studies of other social systems to aid in our understanding of the school-community relationship. Three examples are given here.

A distinction is often drawn between an open and a closed system. It would refer here primarily to the status of the schools -- whether they are closed systems set apart from the communities in which they exist. This would indicate school-community relationships contain a sub-system, schools, too frequently

with communication shut off between them. The community taken as a system is invariably open except under very onerous political conditions. Our theory, based on the preliminary evidence, suggests that schools are in part closed systems within the community. Certainly this is not a necessary condition, nor is it a universal condition. But it occurs often enough to point up a serious difficulty in school-community relations: the problem of overcoming the natural desire on the part of the schools to want to survive and hence the tendency to back off and consider other systems in the surrounding environment as opponents in a struggle for available resources. Communications are absent; differences in perception become disagreements; controversies become conflicts. The politics of persuasion takes over the job of school-community relations.

Another frequent distinction is between positive and negative control. Negative control is always present in the preservation of any system, while positive control is the option of social systems. Vickers (30) distinguishes them as follows:

Positive control is a means whereby courses are chosen and kept so as to reach goals. Negative control is a means whereby courses are changed so as to escape threats. (p. 4)

The school-community relationships we have seen emphasize negative control. Negative control, however, needs some form of information "feedback." It must know what the situation is. The feedback may be merely a variant of the warning red light under negative control. For positive control, a great deal more is needed. There is a need for extensive communication dealing with the situation, from which can come the understanding that we have deemed a necessary condition

for stable development of school-community relations.

A key characteristic of any system is the integration of roles within the system. Halpin (9) has studied the administrator's role in the system and finds one of two major dimensions to be that of adjustive behavior -- the ability of the administrator to interact harmoniously with his co-workers. But if indeed we have a closed system under predominantly negative control, this adjustive behavior is a self-defeating function. If the system is continued as an end in itself, the adjustive behaviors of its members are not productive of growth in the system. We can question, therefore, whether even the selfish interests of the system itself are furthered.

This is a theoretical formulation that can break down -- and should! But for this to happen, the situation has to be recognized as it exists. Then something has to be done about it.

* * * * *

Summary and Conclusions

We have attempted to find out which factors make a difference in school-community relations, using informants in 408 communities across the country as sources of our data. The communities were selected in a stratified (by size and success record), disproportionate probability sample from census bureau records.

The factors which are perceived to help most often are characteristics of students (programs, achievement, athletics, and pride in schools), communication

between school and community (open houses, parent-teacher conferences, parent-teacher relations, PTA's and parent clubs, PTA public meetings, PTA campaigning, mass media coverage of schools, relations with civic institutions, and informal contacts), administrator characteristics (professional qualifications, relations with parents, and values, beliefs and goals), staff characteristics (quality of teachers and relations with students), and services (retarded children program, availability of school facilities, and special services such as health and transportation).

In larger districts, there is more importance attached to the role of the mediating agency -- mass media, PTA, and school board, to name those most often cited. Services are also more helpful in large districts, according to our informants.

In smaller districts, more direct communication is seen as the significant factor in successful relations. Smaller districts also attach more importance to staff and administrator capabilities.

The factors which hurt are most often the stable political opposition to the schools (unorganized chronic critics, organized chronic critics, voter attitudes toward taxes and business outlook, voter turnout, and conservative nature of voters) and the communicatory activity of that opposition (opposition's use of mass media, its use of bulletins or letters, its public meetings, and quality of opposition techniques). Three other factors are: national criticisms of education, property assessment procedures, and students quitting school before graduation.

In larger districts, the staff is more likely to constitute a problem area --

largely through its union organizations. The mass media which were perceived as helping can also be a problem in larger districts. Traditionally, they take an independent role. In some instances, this creates a troublesome point of view that translates the schools to the community in less than a favorable light. Labor unions, chambers of commerce, and large taxpayers are more critical factors in large districts.

Although the administrator is very helpful in small districts because of his professional and personal attributes, he can also be a source of difficulty because of his relations with the community. In the smaller district, everything focuses on the administrator. Smaller districts are seen to suffer from community characteristics: age, education, and occupation distributions in the community; size and type of district; and commuting to other communities.

Based on the observations of informants, we have concluded that most factors are associated uniquely with either success or failure relations. This leads, we have theorized, to a school-community relationship that is a balance of forces. When that balance swings away from equilibrium, failure results. Understanding is the one element which seems to stabilize the balance, maintaining the equilibrium of the situation. We have argued that every system needs to maintain equilibrium, but we have also concluded that taken as an end in itself the maintenance of balance is wasteful of resources and is not a satisfactory school-community relationship.

That maintaining equilibrium should be an end in itself is understandable in

the context of general systems theory. Survival is the first requisite for progress. Yet development can come only through communications that bring understanding, through positive controls rather than negative controls. It is not enough to ward off threats. The course must be determined jointly and followed. The community can not be looked upon as the block to progress, as an environment alien to schools as systems striving to exist. Nor can the roles that school personnel play be determined by the needs of the schools as a system. It is concluded that these roles must meet the needs not of the schools as a closed system but of the schools open to the community.

The theoretical framework we have introduced to explicate our findings is recommended for its simplicity and generality. Our data give it credence. Its usefulness lies in the basic framework it provides for considering the many factors in the school-community relationship and in the guide lines it sets out for working principles of school-community relations.

CHAPTER THREE

HOW WELL DO INFORMANTS EVALUATE FACTORS IN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS?

As school districts have increased in size and complexity, a relatively few persons have assumed the responsibility for initiating policy. These persons -- school and community leaders -- are thus by necessity eager consumers of information about the school-community relationship. Their proposals must be commensurate with the resources and needs of the community. Many are watchful for fear of "rocking the boat;" but even in less precarious situations, the complete negation of a financial policy by voter veto compels attention to conditions in the school-community relationship. The problem is: How well do informants see the significant factors in school-community relations? Are the policy makers well informed? What effect does size have on the information problem of the policy maker? Does the particular role of the policy maker relate to his informational competences?

The best way to find out how well informed the leadership is would be to compare its perceptions of the situation with the actual situation. That is, we would compare personal estimates of each factor's impact on the school-community relationship with an objectively observed estimate. As yet we are unable to make

this definitive assessment of leadership judgments. However, an approximative procedure is possible. Even if we don't have an objective criterion for each factor separately, there is an overall objective criterion. If, for example, an informant tells us that administrators' professional qualifications are helping the relationship in his community, then more likely than not, the relationship should be a successful one. We would say, then, that if his judgment is good, his perceptions of the impact of any factor should be consonant with the local relationship.

If informants are making good judgments, factors identified in the previous chapter as positive should tend to be seen as helping by informants in successful school-community relationships. Similarly, factors identified as negative should tend to be seen as hurting more often by informants in unsuccessful school-community relationships. There is, however, a difficulty to be foreseen. It is likely that an informant could perceive correctly that a negative factor is hurting in a successful relationship or that a positive factor is helping in an unsuccessful relationship. According to our previous discussion, factors tend to be either positive or negative -- regardless of the relationships in which they appear. Thus the amount of linear correlation of any perception to the local relationship is severely attenuated.

Nevertheless, whatever the size of the correlations, comparisons can still be made of informants by district size and by informant role. We can see whether judgments of positive or negative factors are better according to the size of the district in which the informant lives or the role played by the informant. Either

of these conditions could conceivably make a difference. In a larger district, certain factors might be more visible to observers. And, of course, some informants are in a better position to see what is going on according to the role they have in school-community relations.

Reference to Figure 2.5 in the previous chapter shows the four cell data tables as they were analyzed -- for each of 162 factors, perceived by five types of informants in three different sized districts. McCormick's (14) K statistic for correlation was used. Tables A.5 through A.8 in Appendix A are the basis for the results abstracted in this chapter. We are using here factor rankings based on the K statistics. This is a further analysis of the data used in the previous chapter. Returns from 1046 informants in 408 communities were received. Highest returns came from superintendents, from informants in smaller districts, and from informants in failure relationships. The relationship is measured by success records in financial elections over an eleven year period. Our assumption has been that good judgment is reflected in a perception that a positive factor is helping school-community relations only if that relationship is in fact a continuously successful one.

To show that informant informational capacities, as measured by their judgments, are related to their communicatory behavior, we have measured the extent of common perceptions by each pair of informants (as reported in the earlier discussions of the concept of understanding). Our assumption here is that informants who see the situation in the same way are probably communicating more

with each other than with informants who see the situation differently. Thus we have expected their judgments to coincide as well.

* * * * *

Good Judgments by
Size of District

A good judgment, we have said, is when an informant perceives a positive factor to be helping in a success relationship or a negative factor to be hurting in a failure relationship. As Table 3.1 shows, district size makes itself known. Informants in large and medium districts (3,000 or more students) exercise their best judgments on negative factors -- that is, they more correctly perceive negative factors as hurting in failure communities. Only in smaller districts do informants more correctly perceive positive factors as helping in success communities.

This finding would substantiate our earlier inference that, as districts increase in size, the leadership becomes primarily concerned with protecting the system as a system. Therefore, they look first to the opposition to their system and become most familiar with its presence in the relationship of school and community.

It is to be noted that few of the small district informant judgments on positive factors correspond to the significant positive factors listed in the previous chapter. As we shall see, these emerge as factors to which poor judgment is assigned -- possibly in error.

Table 3.1. Rank Order of Good Judgments: Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by District Size.
(Abstracted from Table A.5.)

FACTOR	RANK ORDER IN DISTRICT:		
	<u>Large</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>
School administrators as community leaders			4*
School summer programs			5*
Success of students upon leaving school			8
Loyalty of staff to administration			5*
Teacher participation in school policy			5
Staff organizations -- e.g., unions	8		
State aid to the schools			3*
Property assessment procedures	9		
Youth organizations and clubs			8*
Degree of urbanization			2*
Dependence upon government contracts or installations			1*
City officials			8*
Farmers		8	
Organized chronic critics of schools	4	5	
Unorganized chronic critics of schools	6		
Attitude of voters toward taxes	6	1	
Attitude of voters toward business outlook	10	9	
Conservative nature of voters		4	
Citizens committee for schools		2	
Study groups or workshops on school problems			8
Timing of school election (bond or tax)			5
Quality of opposition techniques	5	9	
Schools' participation in community celebration			5
Availability of school facilities for community use			8*
Public meetings sponsored by opposition to schools	2	7	
Bulletins or letters published by opposition	3	3	
Use of mass media by opposition to schools	1	6	

* These factors are perceived as helping in success communities in a greater proportion than they are perceived as hurting in failure communities. That is, informants are judging correctly positive factors in school-community relations. When factors are not asterisked, informants are judging correctly negative factors in the relationship.

As a glance at Table A.7 in Appendix A will show, these best judgments are not impressive. In large and medium districts, particularly, most correlations are negative between what is perceived and the actual situation. We are thus inclined to conclude in the next section that so-called poor judgments are in fact probably accurate judgments.

* * * * *

Poor Judgments by
Size of District

A poor judgment, we have said, is when an informant perceives a positive factor to be helping in a failure community or a negative factor to be hurting in a success community. The inference is equivocal, as we have suggested. It is entirely possible -- and probable -- that, following a defeat in a financial election, efforts to change the situation would be bona fide positive factors. Yet they would be classified as poor judgments if perceived as helping in what we have termed a failure community.

In all district sizes, as shown in Table 3.2, the informants perceive campaign tactics as a positive factor helping in failure situations. We could hardly offer better testimony that the usual reaction to difficulty is a political answer. Smaller district informants appear aware of the power of mass media and municipal authorities as negative factors to injure the school-community relationship.

In both good and poor judgments a similarity can be seen in the rankings for large and medium districts. A rank correlation of these rankings results

Table 3.2. Rank Order of Poor Judgments: Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by District Size.
(Abstracted from Table A.5.)

FACTOR	RANK ORDER IN DISTRICT:		
	Large	Medium	Small
School summer programs		7*	
Programs for gifted children	7*		
Students quitting school before graduation			4
Quality of teaching staff	9*		
Quality of non-teaching staff	9*		
Teachers running for political office			8*
Public attendance at school board meetings		7*	
Unorganized chronic critics of schools		7*	
Advisory boards or committees for schools	6*		
Mass media and their executives concerned with themselves only			1
Mass media and their executives as "watch-dogs" of public servants and monies			2
Competition among the mass media			3
Campaign emphasis on enrollment pressure		4*	
Lack of agreement among school representatives in election campaign			5*
Investigations of school by municipal or county bodies -- e.g., grand jury			10
School's use of informal or face-to-face contact		5*	
School's employment of public relations specialists		7*	
School's use of letters, postcards, and telephone in election campaign	1*	5*	5*
School's use of personal contact during campaign	2*	7*	9
Speeches by administrators during campaign	5*		
Campaigning for school by PTA members	7*		
Public meetings sponsored by citizens committee		3*	
Bulletins or letters published by citizens committee	3*	1*	7
Campaigning for schools by citizens committee	4*	2*	

* These factors are perceived as helping in failure communities in a greater proportion than they are perceived as hurting in success communities. That is, informants are judging incorrectly positive factors in school-community relations. When factors are not asterisked, informants are judging incorrectly the negative factors in the relationship.

in a coefficient of .68. The respective correlations in rankings between large and small and medium and small districts are -.25 and -.26. We have therefore concluded that enrollment size above 3,000 pupils indicates an expanding distance between schools and community that often leads to political manipulation as a characteristic response to failing relations.

* * * * *

Good Judgments by Informant Type

As Table 3.3 shows, each informant type also predominates in ability to see better the negative forces at work in the school-community relationship. This holds for shared good judgments as well as judgments which are singular to a given role.

Areas of good judgment reflect the role of the informant. Superintendents see best those blocs of power with which they must deal. Board members see best their own problems and those groups which sometimes share the functions of the board. Mass media spokesmen see best their own functions and the characteristics of the community which they too must serve. School supporters usually share their judgments with other informants but in two cases see best threats to the schools. School critics are unique in their best judgments in their perceptions of financial problems and campaign tactics.

There are some interesting differences in best judgments by the several informant types. The superintendent and school supporter see the attitude of

Table 3.3. Rank Order of Good Judgments: Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Informant Type.
(Abstracted from Table A.6.)

FACTOR	RANK ORDER BY INFORMANT:**				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
Private and parochial schools	8				
Composition of the school board	9				
Relations between communities with school district	9				
Degree of urbanization	5				
Farmers	9				
Conservative nature of voters	5*				
School board's relations with the public		8			
School board members' qualifications		5			
School board's educational philosophy		2*			
School board's reaction to proposed changes		7*			
School board procedures		1			
Voter turnout at school elections		10			
Citizens committee for schools		3*			
Parent-Teacher Assns. and parent clubs		10			
Advisory boards or committees for schools		4			
Study groups or workshops on school problems		10			
Age distribution of population			8		
Racial distribution of population			6*		
Educational level of population			2*		
Cooperation between mass media and schools			1		
Mass media and their executives concerned with themselves only			8*		
Unorganized chronic critics of schools				9	
Investigations of school by municipal or county body -- e.g., grand jury				9	

* See note on next page.

** Code: S = superintendent; BM = board member; MM = mass media spokesman;
SS = school supporter; SC = school critic.

Table 3.3. Rank Order of Good Judgments (continued).

FACTOR	RANK ORDER BY INFORMANT:**				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
Federal aid to the schools					9
Procedures for adopting the school budget					7
Teacher participation in school elections					5
Campaign emphasis on enrollment pressures					10*
Lack of agreement among school representatives in election campaign					1
Attitude of voters toward taxes	9*	6		6*	
Community growth -- expansion	9		10*		
Bulletins or letters published by opposition	1		5	1	
Use of mass media by opposition	4			3	4
Attitude of voters toward business outlook	2*			7	
Community's geographic characteristics	7				5
Staff organizations -- e.g., unions	2*		6		8
Organized chronic critics of schools		10	3*	2	
National criticism about education		9*		9	
Quality of opposition techniques		10		5	
Public meetings sponsored by opposition			4	4	3
Property assessment procedures				8	2

* These factors are perceived as helping in success communities in a greater proportion than they are perceived as hurting in failure communities. That is, informants are judging correctly positive factors in school-community relations. When factors are not asterisked, informants are judging correctly negative factors in the relationship.

** Code: S = superintendent; BM = board member; MM = mass media spokesman; SS = school supporter; SC = school critic.

voters toward taxes as a positive factor helping in successful relationships; the board member sees it as a negative factor hurting in poor relationships. The

superintendent sees community growth as a problem; yet mass media spokesmen see it as a positive factor. The attitude of voters toward the business outlook is viewed differently by superintendents and school supporters; superintendents think that it helps and school supporters see it as hurting. Staff organizations are seen as helpful by the superintendent, but the mass media spokesman and school critic see them as hurting. The mass media spokesman sees organized critics as helping in success communities while the board member and school supporter see them as hurting in failure communities. Board members adjudge national criticism as helpful but school supporters do not.

We would doubt that these inconsistencies exist in fact. Rather, it would appear that these findings indicate that attempts to attribute causation for varying school-community relations are influenced by the point of view of the informant.

* * * * *

Poor Judgments by Informant Type

According to Table 3.4, superintendents and school critics seem to err in their judgment by perceiving some negative factors as hurting in successful school-community relations. Board members, mass media spokesmen, and school supporters, on the other hand, almost always appear to err in perceiving some positive factors as helping in failure communities. As in considering these judgments by district size, the apparent poor judgment is not a satisfactory conclusion. Superintendents and school critics seem to be saying, rather, that these

factors hurt even in success relationships. The other informants seem to be saying that these positive factors are helping to overcome the previous failure in the relationship.

Table 3.4. Rank Order of Poor Judgments: Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Informant Type.
(Abstracted from Table A.6.)

FACTOR	RANK ORDER BY INFORMANT:**				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
Mass media and their executives as "watch-dogs" of public servants and monies	10*				
Competition among the mass media	7*				
Definiteness of tax levy extension	5*				
Student behavior			9*		
Turnover of staff			2		
Stability of population			10*		
Conservative nature of voters			3*		
Special services -- e.g., guidance, health, transportation, etc.				5*	
Student athletics				10*	
Large taxpayers				7*	
Advisory boards or committees for schools				10*	
Schools' employment of public relations specialists				1*	
Mass media and their executives concerned with themselves only					7*
Campaign emphasis on enrollment pressure					2*
Quality of schools' campaign preparation					10*

* See note on next page

**Code: S = superintendent; BM = board member; MM = mass media spokesman; SS = school supporter; SC = school critic.

Table 3.4. Rank Order of Poor Judgments (continued).

FACTOR	RANK ORDER BY INFORMANT:**				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
Private and parochial schools					1
Mass media and their executives as community leaders					7*
Availability of facilities for community use					7
Relations between administrators and parents					9*
Quality of central office staff					4
How staff is supervised					4
Relations between parents and teachers					9
Schools' use of letters, postcards, and telephone in election campaign	1	6*		7*	
Schools' use of personal contact during campaign	2	7*		5*	
Speeches by administrators during campaign	3			5*	
Public meetings sponsored by citizens committee	7	10*		4*	
Bulletins or letters published by citizens committee	4	7*	2	1*	
Campaigning for schools by citizens committee	6	4*	7*	3*	
Citizens committee for schools	7*		6*	10*	2*
Tenure practices -- hiring and firing of staff		5		9*	
Municipal legal requirements affecting the schools		1*	3*		
Labor unions			4*		3*
Teaching methods			7*		6

* These factors are perceived as helping in failure communities in a greater proportion than they are perceived as hurting in success communities. That is, informants are judging incorrectly positive factors in school-community relations. When factors are not asterisked, informants are judging incorrectly the negative factors in the relationship.

** Code: S = superintendent; BM = board members; MM = mass media spokesman; SS = school supporter; SC = school critic.

The unique poor judgments here are fewer than among the good judgments. Only the critics have many. Superintendents see characteristics of the mass media as helping in failure situations. Mass media spokesmen emphasize the assets of non-curricular aspects of the school program and the helpfulness of special communicatory assistance in failure situations. School supporters see campaign tactics as helpful in overcoming failure relationships. The critics see staff policy and school-community interactions as hurting even in successful relationships.

The most striking finding is the apparent disagreement between administrators and their cohorts -- board members and school supporters -- on the virtue of political campaigning. The superintendents would appear to see campaign tactics as an unnecessary evil in a successful relationship. Actually, more superintendents think these tactics help in failure situations than think they hurt in success situations. But since we have calculated the proportions by the column totals reported in Figure 2.5 rather than the table total, we obtain this result. Although the finding is somewhat artifactual, the fact remains that a few superintendents see campaign tactics as hurting school-community relations when the situation is already one of continuous success. Among the superintendents, at least, there would seem to be some distaste for the political role they must often play.

Even the superintendents regard the citizens committee as a positive factor helping in failure situations -- along with media spokesmen, school supporters, and school critics. The critics may find the citizens committee the one means by which they can maintain their position publicly without seeming to disapprove entirely of

a basic national institution. Board members do not see the citizens committee as helping in failure situations, perhaps because it might constitute a criticism of the board's role.

Board members see tenure practices as a headache in successful relationships, but school supporters see them as helpful in failure relationships. Teaching methods are seen as helping in failure situations by mass media spokesmen but as hurting in success situations by school critics.

As results in Tables 3.3 and 3.4 would suggest, there are slight positive correlations between judgment rankings by informant -- the school critics being a possible exception. Table 3.5 shows the rank correlations between pairs of informant types.

Table 3.5. Rank Correlations of Judgment Rankings Between Pairs of Informant Types. (Computed from Table A.6.)

		INFORMANT TYPE:			
		<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>
INFORMANT TYPE:	<u>BM</u>	.32			
	<u>MM</u>	.41	.27		
	<u>SS</u>	.53	.31	.37	
	<u>SC</u>	.09	.28	.15	.20

Superintendents and school supporters are most likely to show similarity in their judgments. Superintendents and school critics are least likely to judge the situation the same way. Again, there is the picture of a school-community

relationship that is one of political strife rather than one of understanding. The board members, it appears, are almost as likely to adjudge factors the way critics do as the way superintendents do.

To what extent are these correlations in judgment rankings a consequence of the amount of communication between different types of informants? We have no direct evidence on this point, but we do have -- as shown in Table 3.6 -- the extent of mutual perception by each informant pair, apart from the relationship of the perception to the actual situation as above. We would assume that the extent of common perception is a direct function of their communication with each other.

Table 3.6. Average Distances between Informant Pairs.*

		INFORMANT TYPE:			
		<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>
INFORMANT TYPE:	<u>BM</u>	819 (153)**			
	<u>MM</u>	960 (132)	919 (92)		
	<u>SS</u>	959 (192)	934 (127)	1025 (104)	
	<u>SC</u>	1191 (97)	1188 (76)	1132 (54)	1259 (72)

* D^2 measures on 162 factors, averaged for each informant pair.

** N's for each informant pair average are given in parentheses.

The superintendents and board members are closest to each other in their perceptions of their local school-community relationships. School supporters and

school critics are farthest apart. Here, leaving out the criterion of judgment, the board member is much closer to the superintendent than to the critic. The mass media spokesmen, of all informants, are closest to the critics in perceptions, yet even they are relatively far removed.

The rather large differences in distances among informant pairs points to unequal communicatory behavior. Given the proposition that understanding is a desirable asset to school-community relations, the absence of common perceptions among informants shows that a basic agreement on the situation faced is likely to be missing.

* * * * *

Summary and Conclusions

In larger districts, informants are better judges of negative factors in the school-community relationship -- the character and techniques of the opposition to schools. In smaller districts, informants are able to assess correctly the impact of positive factors in the relationship.

There is a strong likelihood in all size districts that informants will perceive what we have seen to be positive factors as helping in failure situations. We have argued that this is not so much evidence of poor judgment as it is of the common problem of making a failing relationship into a successful one. Given the theory of balance that we advanced in the previous chapter, the way to correct failure is to restore balance -- that is, to add positive weights to the relationship. In the

larger districts, particularly, these new weights appear to be political in nature -- campaign tactics. We have concluded, therefore, that we have further demonstration that negative control is paramount. Schools look first to survival of the system and only secondly to progress in their relationship with the community.

The judgments of informants in large and medium districts correlate highly with each other. Between them and smaller district informants, however, the correlation of judgments is small and negative. Thus we have concluded that conditions probably differ according to size of district. As we stated earlier, it is in the larger districts that political action is made the substitute for understanding as a basis for school-community relations.

Each of the five informant types we questioned were able best to judge the negative factors in failing relationships. Each, however, saw best some factors which reflect on the role of that informant in the school-community relationship.

Correlational analysis of judgment rankings by informant type shows the school critics to be removed from the other informants, although board members seem to stand between critics and the others. Similarly, analysis of the distance between informant pairs in terms of their perceptions of the local situation shows the school critics to be far away from the others. By the latter measure, mass media spokesmen are closest to the critics in perceptions of the situation.

We are not able, at this point, to say definitely that school and community leaders lack knowledge of the factors at work in their local school-community relationship. We can say, however, that their best judgments are on negative

factors in the relationship. This finding, together with several other indications of strife, substantiates a previous inference that political action is a common course for school-community relations to follow.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOW DO STATE LEGAL PROVISIONS AFFECT SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS?

Up to now, we have been concerned with the factors within the school-community relationship that affect financial support of the public schools. But, as we pointed out in Chapter One, there are aspects of the process as a whole to be considered. One such aspect is the legal structure that determines the context in which school and community leaders must operate.

It is a fact that although direct control may be exercised locally, the basis of that control is dictated at the state level. More importantly, the potential for control is set at the state level. If, as we have said, political control is the means by which many districts survive, then the legal provisions may be an important determinant of financial support in these districts. Through restrictive or enabling laws, the state can fix the power of the local boards of control, making it harder or easier for them to obtain support through political action.

It is the larger districts that need the capability for control. Expansion has taken initiation of policy away from the public. The public's response is reduced to assent or dissent and, unable to offer positive alternatives, the boards of control are compelled to seek voter assent by whatever means are available. Campaigning

is one such means, but it requires organization. Reducing the number of public decisions is another means, but it requires autonomy. A third method is selective campaigning, but it needs sanction. This latter method, turning out only favorable voters to go to the polls, is very difficult unless local political leaders give their approval -- at least tacitly. To some extent, then, the relationship between local school and municipal policies can affect the support of the schools.

Legal provisions impinge on the school-community relationship mainly in determining the selection of the board of control and the powers which are given to that board. In this chapter, we shall look at the differences in legal provisions by size of district -- to see if the potential for control varies from larger to smaller districts. We shall then look at the relationship of the control potential to success records in bond and tax elections over an eleven year period, from 1948 to 1959. We want to see if districts possessing greater control potential are able to exercise it effectively.

The choice of legal provisions to be studied has been aided by two studies of school district legal characteristics (Hall, 8; Hutchins and Munse, 11). We were able to construct the questions asked of school districts on the basis of their classifications (See Appendix D for the questionnaire used). Two characteristics which Hall studied, compensation paid board members and personal qualifications of board members, were not included because of insufficient numbers in the categories.

* * * * *

District Characteristics

As shown in Table 4.1, the school-community relationship in larger districts is likely to differ from that in smaller districts because of the differences in legal provisions governing the relationships. Generally, in larger districts there is greater opportunity for control by the school board or by a political organization over the school board.

Board members, for instance, are not as likely to be elected to office in larger districts. Instead, more are appointed. Their terms of office are longer, giving political stability to the board. At the same time, it is no easier or harder to change the majority on the board than in smaller districts. There is a slight tendency for greater representation from the district at large in the larger districts, which seems more significant in that the need for ward representation should parallel size. Board members in larger districts are more likely to receive nomination to office from political action than are members in smaller districts.

On the other hand, a smaller number of board members -- which would make for greater control -- is not characteristic of larger districts. As we shall see in the next chapter, in those large districts where there are fewer board members, there is greater evidence of effective control.

The school board in a large district is more likely to be able to adopt the school budget on its own initiative, not subject to approval by civic authority or the voters. They are much less likely to have to hold special fiscal elections for such purposes as selling or buying school property or approving state aid.

Table 4.1. Distributions of Legal Characteristics by Size of District. *

<u>LEGAL PROVISION</u>	<u>SIZE OF DISTRICT:</u>		
	<u>Large</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>
<u>Procedure for selecting board members</u>			
Elected	87.4%	92.0%	97.9%
Appointed	$\frac{12.6}{100.0\%}$ (N=279)	$\frac{8.0}{100.0\%}$ (N=288)	$\frac{2.5}{100.0\%}$ (N=361)
<u>Term of office</u>			
2-4 year term	56.4%	78.1%	78.1%
5-9 year term	$\frac{43.6}{100.0\%}$ (N=275)	$\frac{21.9}{100.0\%}$ (N=292)	$\frac{21.9}{100.0\%}$ (N=356)
<u>Time needed to change majority of board</u>			
1-2 years	65.7%	68.2%	65.5%
3-9 years	$\frac{34.3}{100.0\%}$ (N=274)	$\frac{31.8}{100.0\%}$ (N=280)	$\frac{34.4}{100.0\%}$ (N=346)
<u>Area represented by board members</u>			
District at large	81.1%	79.2%	79.8%
Wards	$\frac{18.9}{100.0\%}$ (N=275)	$\frac{20.8}{100.0\%}$ (N=288)	$\frac{20.2}{100.0\%}$ (N=342)

Table 4.1. Distributions of Legal Characteristics, continued.

<u>LEGAL PROVISION</u>	<u>SIZE OF DISTRICT:</u>		
	<u>Large</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>
<u>Method of nominating board members</u>			
Self announcement	37.6%	39.4%	31.3%
Petition	41.7	43.9	56.4
Other (caucus, primary election, annual meeting, official nominations)	20.7 <u>100.0%</u> (N=266)	16.7 <u>100.0%</u> (N=269)	12.3 <u>100.0%</u> (N=335)
<u>Number of members on board</u>			
3-5 members	48.4%	77.2%	61.2%
6 or more members	51.6 <u>100.0%</u> (N=279)	22.8 <u>100.0%</u> (N=249)	38.8 <u>100.0%</u> (N=361)
<u>Kind of elections held for board members</u>			
Separate	51.5%	65.3%	83.8%
Combined (with national, state, municipal)	48.5 <u>100.0%</u> (N=233)	34.7 <u>100.0%</u> (N=248)	16.2 <u>100.0%</u> (N=340)
<u>Procedures for filling board vacancies</u>			
Appointed by board members	68.2%	70.6%	75.5%
Other (special election, official appointment)	31.8 <u>100.0%</u> (N=280)	29.4 <u>100.0%</u> (N=287)	24.5 <u>100.0%</u> (N=355)

Table 4.1. Distributions of Legal Characteristics, continued.

<u>LEGAL PROVISION</u>	<u>SIZE OF DISTRICT:</u>		
	<u>Large</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>
<u>Procedure for initiating bond proposals</u>			
School board initiative	71.2%	73.9%	72.0%
Other (petition by voters, by state, county, or city authorities)	$\frac{28.8}{100.0\%}$ (N=285)	$\frac{26.1}{100.0\%}$ (N=291)	$\frac{28.0}{100.0\%}$ (N=354)
<u>Procedure for adoption of school budget</u>			
Board action alone	94.2%	83.3%	76.1%
Election or approval	$\frac{5.8}{100.0\%}$ (N=278)	$\frac{16.7}{100.0\%}$ (N=293)	$\frac{23.9}{100.0\%}$ (N=351)
<u>Proportion of budget obtained from state sources</u>			
Less than 50%	66.2%	52.2%	64.4%
50% or more	$\frac{33.8}{100.0\%}$ (N=260)	$\frac{47.8}{100.0\%}$ (N=271)	$\frac{35.6}{100.0\%}$ (N=309)
<u>Proportion of budget obtained from local sources</u>			
Less than 50%	35.4%	48.7%	32.4%
50% or more	$\frac{64.6}{100.0\%}$ (N=260)	$\frac{51.3}{100.0\%}$ (N=271)	$\frac{67.6}{100.0\%}$ (N=309)

Table 4.1. Distributions of Legal Characteristics, continued.

<u>LEGAL PROVISION</u>	<u>SIZE OF DISTRICT:</u>		
	<u>Large</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>
<u>Number of miscellaneous fiscal elections</u>			
None	86.7%	71.3%	67.9%
1-5 elections over eleven year period	<u>13.3</u> 100.0% (N=279)	<u>28.7</u> 100.0% (N=286)	<u>32.1</u> 100.0% (N=355)

- * In response to questions reported in Appendix D.
N's are reported for districts which had at least one bond or tax election in the eleven year period from 1948 to 1959. N's vary according to the information secured on each characteristic.

The political influences in larger districts are to be seen in the greater proportion of board elections held jointly with municipal, state, or national elections, and in the greater proportion of board vacancies filled by methods other than appointment by the remaining members of the board.

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Legal Provisions and Financial Support

From the preceding discussion, we might conclude that legal provisions have some impact on the school-community relationship. In larger districts, this impact appears to be in the form of greater control by the school leaders. In smaller districts, legal provisions seem to favor greater responsiveness by the school leaders. This would fit into the picture we have seen developing through the

earlier chapters.

But regardless of the seeming effect of these legal provisions on school-community relations, it remains to be seen whether there is an identifiable relationship between legal provisions and financial support of the schools. We have studied this relationship by collecting the records of financial elections held in 1054 school districts over a period of eleven years from 1948 to 1959. (The questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix D.) Because success is the frequent outcome of an election, we have used proportion of successes in the eleven year period as our criterion. This affords us a more sensitive index of variation in outcome by each characteristic. We have dichotomized proportion of successes at 90%, using the chi square statistic to evaluate relationships.

The potential for control that appeared more characteristic of larger districts is shown in these next tables to be related to better success records in bond elections, but not very often to better success records in tax elections.

As Table 4.2. shows, greater control of the board through appointment appears to afford larger districts a better likelihood of success in bond elections. As Table 4.2 also shows, it is rare among appointed boards to need a tax election; they evidently have the power to change rates on their own initiative.

Table 4.3 shows that the longer term of office for board members is related to better success records in bond elections for larger districts. Longer terms are also related to success records in tax elections, but it is the medium districts that appear to be benefiting from greater control.

Table 4.2. Procedure for Selecting Board Members Related to Proportion of Successes in Bond and Tax Elections, by Size of District.

<u>DISTRICT SIZE/ SELECTION PROCEDURE</u>	<u>BOND ELECTIONS:</u>			<u>TAX ELECTIONS:</u>		
	<u>-89% Pass</u>	<u>90%+ Pass</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>-89% Pass</u>	<u>90%+ Pass</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Large</u>						
Elected	28.5%	71.5	(144)	34.0%	66.0	(100)
Appointed	10.3%	89.7	(29)	66.7%	33.3	(6)
<u>Medium</u>						
Elected	33.5%	66.6	(155)	38.2%	61.8	(110)
Appointed	20.0%	80.0	(20)	33.3%	66.7	(3)
<u>Small</u>						
Elected	24.9%	75.1	(233)	24.4%	75.6	(119)
Appointed	40.0%	60.0	(5)	25.0%	75.0	(4)

Note: For bond elections, chi square is 8.83; p is less than .13 with five degrees of freedom.

For tax elections, chi square is 8.78; p is less than .13 with five degrees of freedom.

Table 4.3. Term of Office for School Board Members Related to Proportion of Successes in Bond and Tax Elections, by Size of District.

DISTRICT SIZE/ TERM OF OFFICE	BOND ELECTIONS:			TAX ELECTIONS:		
	-89% Pass	90%+ Pass	N	-89% Pass	90%+ Pass	N
<u>Large</u>						
2-4 years	29.3%	70.7	(92)	33.3%	66.7	(63)
5-9 years	21.8%	78.2	(78)	40.5%	59.5	(42)
<u>Medium</u>						
2-4 years	36.1%	63.9	(133)	44.2%	55.8	(95)
5-9 years	22.7%	77.3	(44)	10.0%	90.0	(20)
<u>Small</u>						
2-4 years	24.0%	76.0	(183)	25.3%	74.7	(95)
5-9 years	27.5%	72.5	(51)	18.5%	81.5	(27)

Note: For bond elections, chi square is 7.97; p is less than .17 with five degrees of freedom.

For tax elections, chi square is 16.58; p is less than .01 with five degrees of freedom.

As with the table above, Table 4.4 shows the larger districts benefit most from increased stability in the board membership. That is, they benefit most in terms of success in bond elections. Also, as in the table above, the medium district derives the most benefit in tax election results from a relatively long time needed for changing the majority of the board.

Table 4.4. Time Needed To Change Majority of Board Membership Related to Proportion of Successes in Bond and Tax Elections, by Size of District.

<u>DISTRICT SIZE/ TIME NEEDED</u>	BOND ELECTIONS:			TAX ELECTIONS:		
	<u>-89% Pass</u>	<u>90%+ Pass</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>-89% Pass</u>	<u>90%+ Pass</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Large</u>						
1-2 years	31.7%	68.3	(104)	36.8%	63.2	(76)
3-9 years	15.2%	84.8	(66)	35.7%	64.3	(28)
<u>Medium</u>						
1-2 years	35.4%	64.6	(113)	46.2%	53.8	(78)
3-9 years	29.1%	70.9	(55)	20.6%	79.4	(34)
<u>Small</u>						
1-2 years	26.4%	73.6	(148)	21.5%	78.5	(79)
3-9 years	25.3%	74.7	(79)	30.0%	70.0	(40)

Note: For bond elections, chi square is 10.26; p is less than .09 with five degrees of freedom.

For tax elections, chi square is 14.58; p is less than .02 with five degrees of freedom.

As Table 4.5 shows, petitioning as a means for nominating board members in the larger districts does not lead to success in either bond or tax elections. This is a negative argument that control is helpful in larger districts.

Whether board members represent the district at large or wards is not related to the success records in bond or tax elections in any size district. A

Table 4.5. Method for Nominating School Board Members Related to Proportion of Successes in Bond and Tax Elections, by Size of District.

DISTRICT SIZE/ NOMINATION METHOD	BOND ELECTIONS:			TAX ELECTIONS:		
	-89% Pass	90%+ Pass	N	-89% Pass	90%+ Pass	N
<u>Large</u>						
Petition	30.8%	69.2	(65)	43.5%	56.5	(46)
Self announcement	26.7%	73.3	(60)	25.0%	75.0	(40)
Others*	10.3%	89.7	(39)	50.0%	50.0	(16)
<u>Medium</u>						
Petition	44.1%	65.9	(68)	50.0%	50.0	(50)
Self announcement	27.0%	73.0	(63)	34.9%	66.1	(43)
Others	27.6%	72.4	(29)	18.8%	81.2	(16)
<u>Small</u>						
Petition	29.0%	71.0	(124)	20.0%	80.0	(65)
Self announcement	21.7%	78.3	(69)	36.1%	63.9	(36)
Others	18.5%	81.5	(27)	14.3%	85.7	(14)

Note: For bond elections, chi square is 11.91; p is less than .19 with eight degrees of freedom.

For tax elections, chi square is 20.90; p is less than .01 with eight degrees of freedom.

* Includes caucus, primary election, annual meeting, official nomination.

small number of board members tends to help somewhat in larger districts in terms of bond elections won, but not substantially.

As Table 4.6 shows, bond elections succeed more often in larger districts when board elections are held with municipal, state, or national, elections. Tax elections succeed best when board elections are held separate -- in any size district.

Table 4.6. Kind of Election Held for School Board Members Related to Proportion of Successes in Bond and Tax Elections, by Size of District.

<u>DISTRICT SIZE/ ELECTIONS HELD</u>	BOND ELECTIONS:			TAX ELECTIONS:		
	<u>-89% Pass</u>	<u>90%+ Pass</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>-89% Pass</u>	<u>90%+ Pass</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Large</u>						
Separate	36.5%	63.5	(74)	30.4%	69.6	(46)
Combined	20.0%	80.0	(65)	39.6%	60.4	(48)
<u>Medium</u>						
Separate	37.6%	62.4	(109)	37.0%	63.0	(73)
Combined	26.5%	73.5	(49)	43.2%	56.8	(37)
<u>Small</u>						
Separate	23.3%	76.7	(193)	22.8%	77.2	(92)
Combined	35.5%	64.5	(31)	33.3%	66.7	(24)

Note: For bond elections, chi square is 12.30; p is less than .04 with five degrees of freedom.

For tax elections, chi square is 7.69; p is less than .08 with five degrees of freedom.

The procedure for filling board vacancies is not related to success records in bond or tax elections in any size district. There is a slight tendency for larger districts whose boards initiate bond proposals to do better in bond elections, but worse in tax elections.

As shown in Table 4.7, medium districts have the best election records when the board has the sole power to pass on budgets.

Table 4.7. Procedure for Adoption of School Budget Related to Proportion of Successes in Bond and Tax Elections, by Size of District.

DISTRICT SIZE/ ADOPTION BY	BOND ELECTIONS:			TAX ELECTIONS:		
	-89% Pass	90%+ Pass	N	-89% Pass	90%+ Pass	N
<u>Large</u>						
Election or approval	22.2%	77.8	(18)	50.0%	50.0	(4)
School board	25.8%	74.2	(155)	34.7%	65.3	(101)
<u>Medium</u>						
Election or approval	50.0%	50.0	(30)	42.1%	57.9	(19)
School board	29.3%	70.7	(147)	37.1%	62.9	(97)
<u>Small</u>						
Election or approval	28.6%	71.4	(56)	14.3%	85.7	(28)
School board	24.0%	76.0	(175)	28.3%	71.7	(92)

Note: For bond elections, chi square is 9.37; p is less than .10 with five degrees of freedom.

For tax elections, chi square is 7.46; p is less than .19 with five degrees of freedom.

In large districts, so many of the boards have sole power to pass on the budget that few cases are available for analysis in Table 4.7.

Smaller district boards, as we have seen, have less fiscal control and must hold more special elections for fiscal purposes. As Table 4.8 shows, the larger districts which do have more control are better able to pass their bond elections. They are also able to pass tax elections better, but here the difference is not large.

Table 4.8. Number of Miscellaneous Fiscal Elections Held Related to Proportion of Successes in Bond and Tax Elections, by Size of District.

<u>DISTRICT SIZE/ NO. OF ELECTIONS</u>	BOND ELECTIONS:			TAX ELECTIONS:		
	<u>-89% Pass</u>	<u>90%+ Pass</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>-89% Pass</u>	<u>90%+ Pass</u>	<u>N</u>
<u>Large</u>						
1-5 elections	39.1%	60.9	(23)	42.9%	57.1	(14)
No elections	23.7%	76.3	(152)	34.5%	65.5	(90)
<u>Medium</u>						
1-5 elections	49.0%	51.0	(47)	37.1%	62.9	(35)
No elections	27.4%	72.6	(124)	38.8%	61.2	(80)
<u>Small</u>						
1-5 elections	27.4%	72.6	(73)	17.1%	82.9	(41)
No elections	24.2%	75.8	(161)	28.8%	71.2	(80)

Note: For bond elections, chi square is 14.38; p is less than .02 with five degrees of freedom.

For tax elections, chi square is 7.56; p is less than .20 with five degrees of freedom.

* * * * *

Summary and Conclusions

Data concerning local legal provisions and eleven year histories of bond and tax election outcomes, received from a national sample of 1054 school districts, show that larger district boards of control have a greater potential for effective control of fiscal policies.

Larger districts are more likely:

To have board members appointed;

To have longer terms of office for board members;

To have board members representative of the district at large;

To have board members nominated for office by political action rather than by direct petition;

To have boards empowered to adopt school budgets without elections or official approval; and,

To be exempted from holding special fiscal elections to buy and sell school properties or to accept state aid.

For the most part, those larger districts which have these controls are better able to pass their bond elections than larger districts without them, and better able to pass them than smaller districts with or without them. This is not so true of tax elections, although medium districts with these controls appear to benefit.

CHAPTER FIVE

DOES VOTER TURNOUT AFFECT SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS?

Important consequences for American public education depend on school financial elections. Bond and tax elections might be thought of as summary expressions, in financial terms, of educational decisions and policies. In the majority of communities these policies are, from time to time, presented to the voters for review in the form of financial issues. Democratic ideology argues that a public school system should be in the hands of the people. Yet, it appears that many of our school systems, although directed under the initiative of the school board and the school administration, are constrained by the citizen relegated the role of occasional reviewer of policy.

In order to better understand the place of democratic action in public education we need to know the effect of voter turnout on the outcome of school financial elections. As was noted in Chapter One, speculation argues both ways, that high turnout should spell success and that low turnout should spell success. We also need to know what normal turnout is, normal in the sense of typical for various geographical regions and for different sizes and types of districts. Furthermore, there is the question of whether or not there have been trends in

turnout over the past several years. There are also a number of legal characteristics related to the board's opportunity to control the conduct of school affairs. We need to know the effect of these variables on turnout. We also need to know the effect on turnout of "importance" variables like the amount of the bond issue at stake and the proportion of school district funds obtained from local sources.

A review of the literature of school administration yields very little data about voter turnout at school financial elections -- although concern about this topic is evident. Similarly, interviews with persons close to the focus of the school-community relationship give evidence only of conflicting notions about the effect and importance of turnout. There have been several studies of turnout done in the field of political science. However, these studies have tended to focus on demographic variables related to partisan politics.

A study by Bush and Deutschmann (1) of the characteristics of voters and non-voters in a school financial election indicated that increased turnout would have resulted in more opposition to the issue -- if increases in the turnout were not disproportionately distributed among the non-voters. Apart from this inference, only partially supported by Carter's findings (2), no other study has presented any evidence as to the effect of turnout on outcome of school elections.

The data were collected in a questionnaire mailed to a sample of 1054 school districts stratified by enrollment size of district. The questionnaire asked for an eleven year history of financial elections and data on local district characteristics. We obtained an 82% return of questionnaires. The questionnaire is reproduced in

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Turnout and Outcome

Table 5.1 shows that average turnout was higher at elections which failed than at elections which passed. This relationship holds and is statistically significant for both bond and tax elections in large, medium, and small districts. This result suggests that high turnout may be a factor causing the defeat of financial issues.

Table 5.1. Voter Turnout at School Financial Elections by Outcome, Type of Election, and Size of District. *

AVERAGE TURNOUT IN:			
<u>OUTCOME/TYPE</u>	<u>Large Districts</u>	<u>Medium Districts</u>	<u>Small Districts</u>
<u>Passed</u>			
Bond	27.53% (N=505)	31.18% (N=428)	38.03% (N=337)
Tax	33.12 (N=326)	32.18 (N=377)	32.36 (N=252)
<u>Failed</u>			
Bond	44.80 (N=83)	43.96 (N=93)	46.01 (N=66)
Tax	40.93 (N=70)	38.38 (N=68)	44.14 (N=28)

* Differences between success and failure election turnouts for both bond and tax elections in all three sizes of districts are significant at the .05 level.

Turnout at school financial elections is generally low compared to state and national elections. The weighted mean turnout for the entire sample of elections

in all districts is 36.30%. The finding that turnout is generally low was certainly not unexpected; however, it is now reliably established.

One might speculate on the reason for this low level of turnout. Voting in school financial elections is the best means by which the individual citizen can participate in policy making for public education. This, coupled with a high normative value for public education, would lead one to expect a high level of turnout. The low level which actually obtains might possibly be explained by the hypothesis that the citizen does not feel that the casting of a ballot has any important effect on public educational policy. He may feel that the important decisions have been made before he, as an individual citizen, has an opportunity to ratify the policy. This hypothesis appears to be reasonable in light of the findings presented by Carter (2). Analyzing the results of interviews with registered voters in three cities, he found that...

Many voters feel their participation is likely to be fruitless. Over a third say they have little voice in what the schools do. Nearly half say that voting is the only voice they have in what the schools do. About a quarter of them feel school officials don't care what the voters think. Over two-fifths think educational policy is so complicated they can't understand it. (p. 132)

Table 5.1 also shows that turnout is inversely related to district size; the smaller districts have higher turnout. If the success and failure categories for both bond and tax elections are combined we find that mean turnout for all financial elections is 31.11%, 33.34%, and 37.16% respectively for large, medium, and small districts. The variability among district sizes is significant at the .001 level.

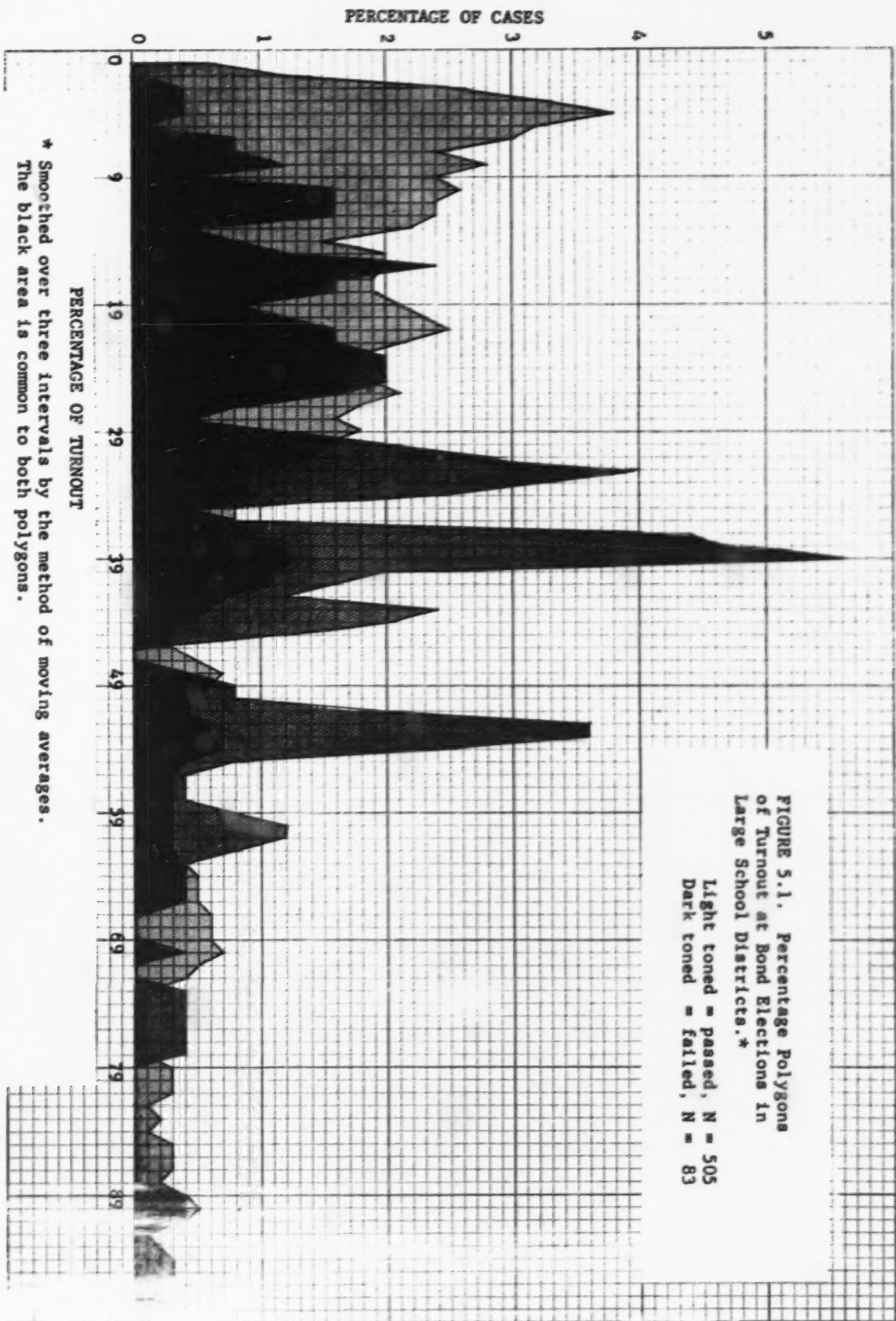
This finding should be considered by those concerned with establishing district size. Miller and Spaulding (17) list the determination of appropriate school district size as the number one unsolved problem in American educational administration. The trend, at present, is toward larger school districts. While there are many administrative and instructional advantages to larger school districts the question might be raised whether districts grow away from the voters, decreasing their participation in school affairs. Since the size of district is related to turnout (a measure of participation) then the importance we attach to that formal participation might well affect our policy decisions on school district size.

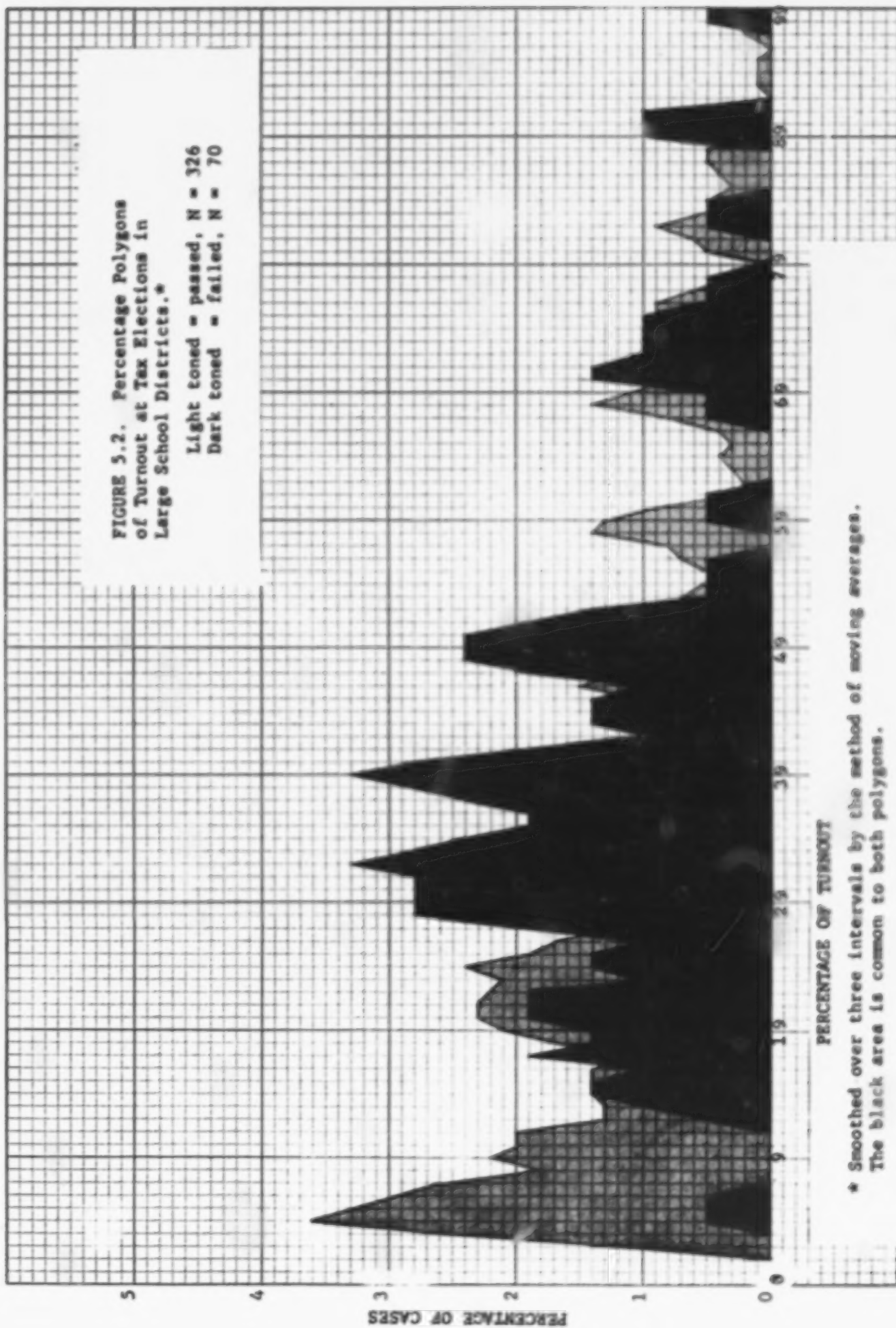
Another effect of district size is suggested by further examination of Table 5.1. If the success and failure categories are combined but bond and tax elections are kept separate we find the following relationships: In large districts, tax elections have higher turnout than bond elections, 34.50% compared to 29.97%; in medium districts there is no important difference; in small districts bond elections have higher turnout than tax elections, 39.34% compared to 33.54%. In large districts tax elections apparently have greater interest for the voter than bond elections. The bonding process results in higher property taxes too, but the effects are more remote. The city dweller is perhaps accustomed to voting for bonds to finance large scale civic improvements. In small districts the floating of a school bond may be a major event in the financial history of the community. Because of this, it may attract more attention and hence higher turnout than a tax election.

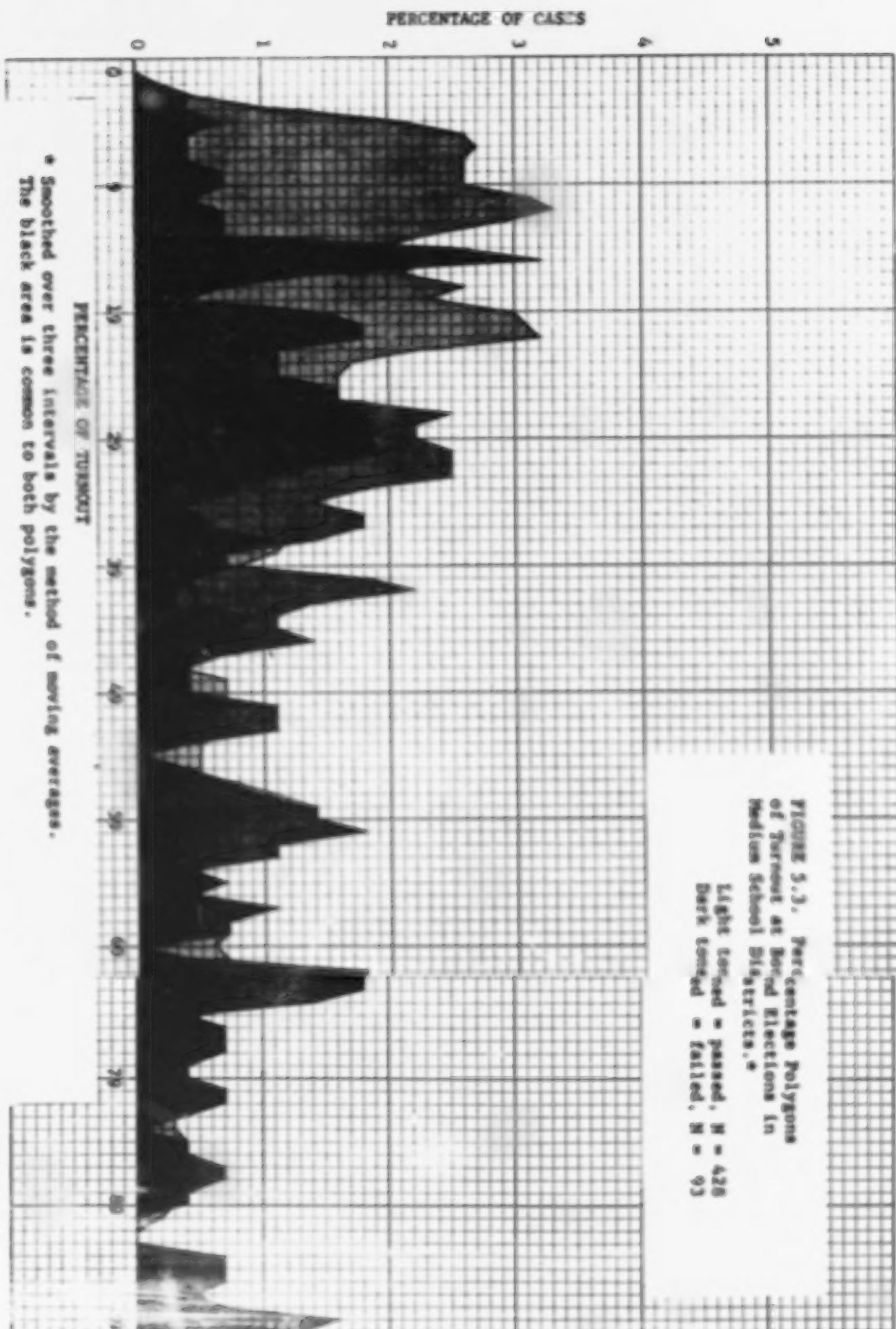
Figures 5.1 through 5.6 show the distributions of turnout at successful elections and at elections that failed. The general pattern which emerges from the figures is that when turnout is low the proportion of elections that pass greatly exceeds the proportion that fail, and when turnout is medium the proportion failing exceeds the proportion passing. When turnout is high the pattern is not entirely clear but the proportions passing and failing approach equality, with a slight margin favoring successful elections.

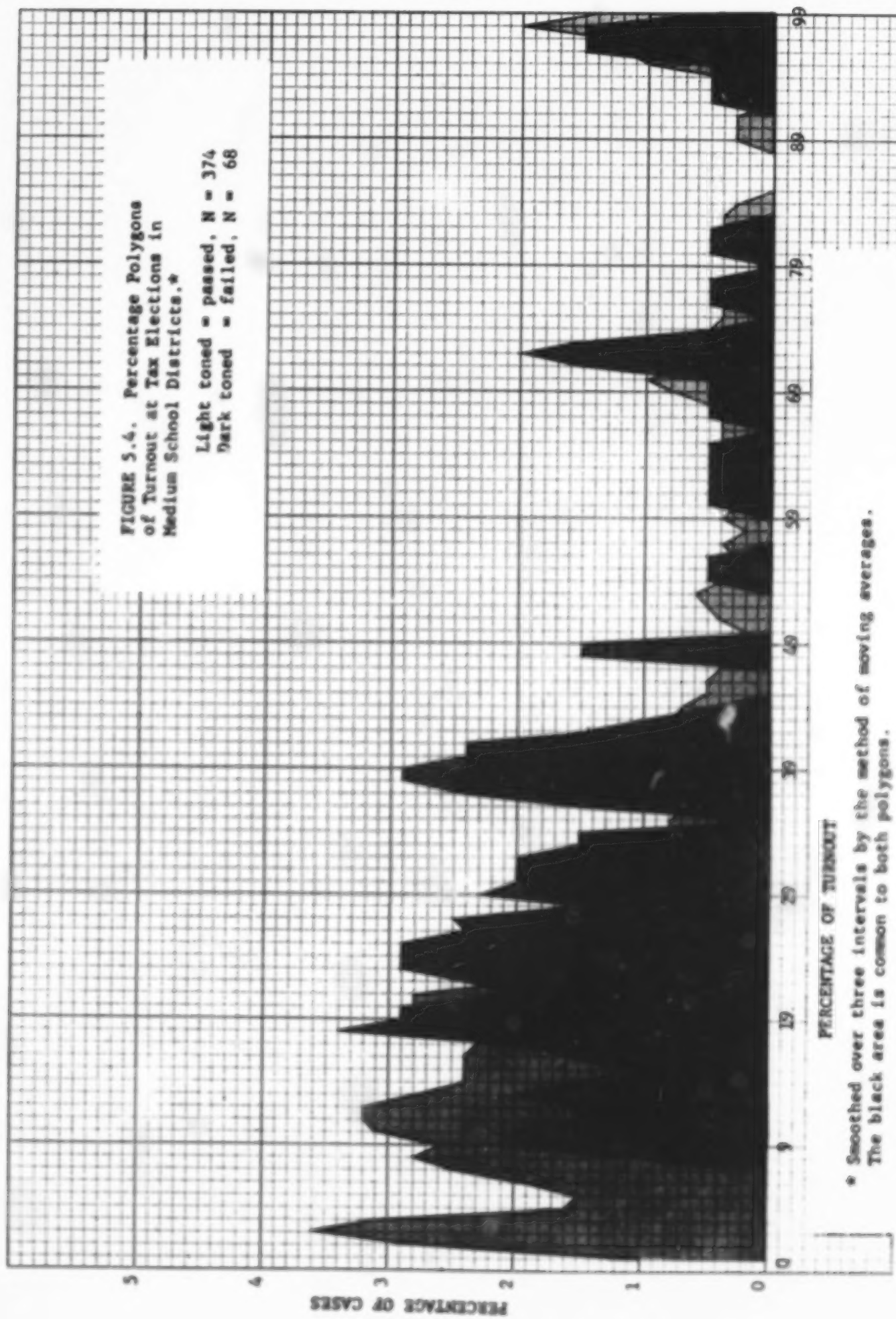
The findings suggest that massive "get-out-the-vote" campaigns may not be optimum tactics for passing financial issues. A "get-out-the-vote" campaign conducted in a district that typically had low turnout would probably produce an increased proportion of negative votes. Apparently there are a large number of latent negative votes which can be called forth by a controversial issue or some other stimulant.

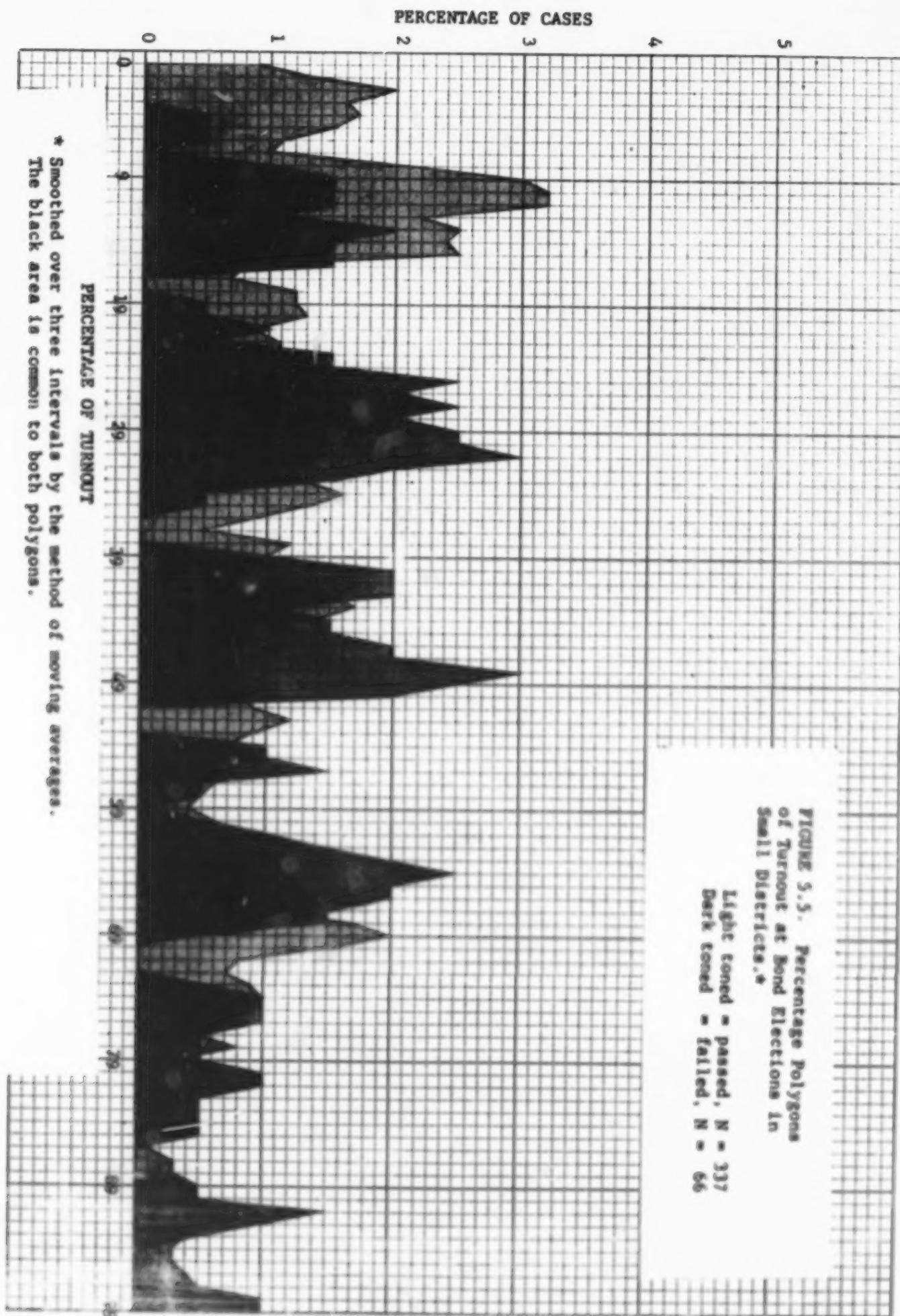
If a district found itself regularly failing in elections with medium turnout it would seem that the only course to follow would be to try for very high turnout of a well-informed citizenry. Under these circumstances it seems that chances of passing issues would exceed chances of failure. This strategy is, of course, consistent with our democratic ideals. However, the expense -- in terms of time, effort, and money -- of informing citizens and getting them to the polls is such that this tactic probably should be reserved for crisis situations where issues are consistently failing.

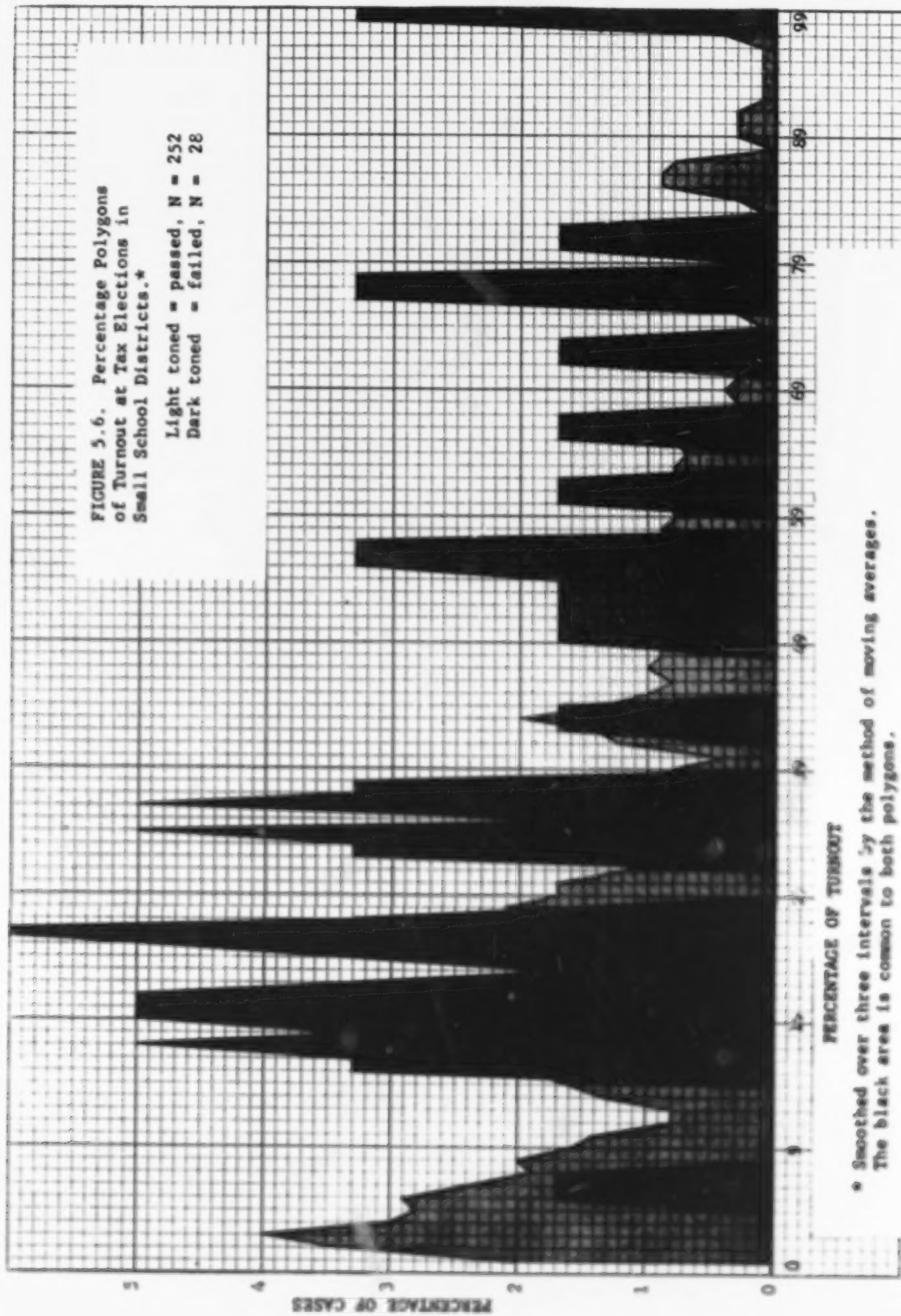












When turnout is low and financial elections are regularly failing it would appear that the danger of medium turnout and the great expense of obtaining a high turnout of well-informed voters would dictate a selective turnout campaign. The object of such a campaign would be to identify, inform, and turn out the potential "yes" vote.

These are the conclusions one would reach, assessing the situation as a problem in political action. These means for obtaining victory in financial elections are commonly used -- if not advisedly. We might question the political sagacity of the attempts, but not the essentially political orientation of them.

Estimates of low, medium, and high turnout should take into consideration the local characteristics of turnout. The next section discusses turnout by geographic area, year of election, and type of school district.

* * * * *

Characteristics of Turnout

Table 5.2 shows turnout in school financial elections by census divisions. Highly significant variance ratios are found for all three sizes of districts. However, the patterns of turnout obtained cannot be interpreted by geographical location alone. Only two census divisions, the South Atlantic and the West North Central, had consistently high turnout in all districts.

Inspection of Table 5.2 reveals that district size is a better predictor of turnout than geographical location. In large districts, four census divisions had what might be termed high turnout, two moderate, and three low turnout.

Table 5.2. Voter Turnout at School Financial Elections, by Census Divisions and District Size.*

CENSUS DIVISIONS	AVERAGE TURNOUT IN:		
	Large Districts	Medium Districts	Small Districts
New England	40.50% (N=10)	17.00% (N=28)	22.00% (N=8)
Middle Atlantic	20.22 (N=102)	41.28 (N=276)	22.85 (N=127)
East North Central	28.82 (N=156)	35.93 (N=63)	29.58 (N=13)
West North Central	41.91 (N=193)	35.03 (N=171)	41.04 (N=162)
South Atlantic	31.17 (N=24)	34.50 (N=23)	45.93 (N=7)
East South Central	28.80 (N=86)	43.96 (N=37)	50.50 (N=110)
Mountain	13.98 (N=58)	32.30 (N=41)	46.00 (N=35)
Pacific	43.72 (N=228)	29.54 (N=225)	34.85 (N=127)

* The variance ratios obtained for all three district sizes were significant at the .001 level.

In medium districts, five had what might be termed high turnout, two moderate, and two low turnout. In small districts, six divisions had high turnout, three moderate, and none had low turnout. The incidence of divisions with high turnout increases as we proceed from large to small districts.

Table 5.3 shows that turnout varies significantly by the kind of schools (elementary, secondary, or both) operated by the district. In the large districts, turnout in elementary districts is lower than in districts which operate both elementary and high schools, while turnout in districts which operate only high schools is higher than in districts which operate both. These findings are tempered by the fact that very few large districts operate only elementary or secondary schools. In the medium districts, both elementary districts and secondary districts had lower turnout than those districts which operate both kinds of schools. The great majority of districts of this size operate both levels of schools. The pattern of relations in the small districts is the same as in the medium districts. However, among the small districts, a considerably greater proportion operate only elementary schools.

Table 5.3. Voter Turnout at School Financial Elections, by Kind of Schools Operated by District and District Size.*

<u>KIND OF DISTRICT</u>	<u>AVERAGE TURNOUT IN:</u>		
	<u>Large Districts</u>	<u>Medium Districts</u>	<u>Small Districts</u>
Elementary Only	17.50% (N=10) (N=10)	20.85% (N=63) (N=63)	31.96% (N=122) (N=122)
Secondary Only	48.14 (N=11)	19.99 (N=82)	32.99 (N=53)
Both Elementary and Secondary**	31.08 (N=962)	35.64 (N=817)	38.60 (N=502)

* The variance ratios obtained for all three district sizes were significant at the .05 level or better.

** Includes unified, independent, county, and city systems.

One could attribute the greater turnout in districts with both elementary and secondary schools to the greater likelihood that a given voter would have a child in the affected schools.

Table 5.4 shows that there have been no trends in turnout during the past decade. In medium and small districts there is no apparent relationship between turnout and year of election; the variance ratios found were not statistically significant. In the large districts a variance ratio significant at the .05 level was obtained. However, there was no trend of increase or decrease in turnout over the past decade. The significant variation is cyclic, years of high turnout tend to coincide with years of general elections.

The absence of a trend in turnout is interesting from another point of view. During the past decade there has been an apparent increase of interest in public education. This increase of interest has been evidenced chiefly by the activities of the press and the citizens committee movement. Both of these reflect the efforts of relatively small groups of people. A general increased amount of interest should have resulted in an increased amount of voting on the part of the general public. The findings show that the apparent nationwide increase of interest in public education has not manifested itself in higher turnout at school financial elections.

* * * * *

Table 5.4. Voter Turnout at School Financial Elections, by Year of Election and District Size.*

YEAR	AVERAGE TURNOUT IN:		
	<u>Large Districts</u>	<u>Medium Districts</u>	<u>Small Districts</u>
1948-49	37.20% (N=74)	36.33% (N=75)	34.30% (N=51)
1949-50	29.40 (N=51)	35.35 (N=59)	27.53 (N=33)
1950-51	31.20 (N=85)	35.21 (N=84)	33.33 (N=46)
1951-52	26.28 (N=73)	36.80 (N=61)	37.11 (N=46)
1952-53	27.34 (N=88)	34.14 (N=84)	41.38 (N=48)
1953-54	26.62 (N=85)	30.84 (N=93)	39.09 (N=61)
1954-55	34.06 (N=90)	31.51 (N=77)	36.79 (N=66)
1955-56	26.87 (N=134)	28.97 (N=113)	36.12 (N=65)
1956-57	34.71 (N=96)	32.05 (N=102)	39.92 (N=94)
1956-57	34.71 (N=96)	32.05 (N=102)	39.92 (N=94)
1957-58	34.19 (N=97)	34.88 (N=104)	41.06 (N=90)
1958-59	34.50 (N=111)	36.57 (N=111)	32.96 (N=83)

* The variance ratio obtained for the large school districts is significant at the .05 level. The variance ratios for the medium and small districts are not significant.

Sources of Turnout

Table 5.5 shows that in all districts turnout is significantly related to the amount of the bond issue. The amount of a bond issue can be thought of as a measure of the importance of the educational decision to be made. Clearly, voters turn out in greater strength to participate in more important decisions.

Table 5.5. Voter Turnout at School Bond Elections, by Amount of Issue and District Size. *

AMOUNT	AVERAGE TURNOUT IN:		
	<u>Large Districts</u>	<u>Medium Districts</u>	<u>Small Districts</u>
Lowest quartile	25.05% (N=146)	22.73% (N=127)	29.85% (N=99)
Second quartile	26.35 (N=146)	32.94 (N=128)	41.37 (N=99)
Third quartile	30.00 (N=146)	35.05 (N=128)	46.42 (N=99)
Highest quartile	35.79 (N=147)	37.88 (N=127)	38.54 (N=99)

* The variance ratios obtained for all three district sizes were significant at the .001 level.

Another aspect of saliency is seen in the relationship of turnout to sources of

Another aspect of saliency is seen in the relationship of turnout to sources of district funds. Table 5.6 shows that high turnout is related to high local and low state support. The saliency of the local issues is a function not only of absolute amount, as is evident with bond issues, but also of the relative proportion of total support derived from local sources. Thus, a million dollar bond issue means more to a community that derives 75% of its school funds from local sources than it

would mean to a community that derives only 25% of its school funds from local sources.

Table 5.6. Voter Turnout at School Financial Elections, by Source of District Funds and Size of District.

DISTRICT SIZE	AVERAGE TURNOUT IN DISTRICTS WITH:			
	Local Support* Above Median	Local Support Below Median	State Support** Above Median	State Support Below Median
Large	30.45% (N=492)	28.75% (N=492)	27.55% (N=492)	31.34% (N=492)
Medium	35.53 (N=481)	30.41 (N=482)	31.13 (N=482)	34.62 (N=481)
Small	38.80 (N=342)	34.21 (N=341)	35.22 (N=341)	37.00 (N=342)

* Median local support = 50-59%.

** Median state support = 40-49%.

Legal characteristics pertaining to the school board may be positively or negatively correlated with turnout, depending on the size of the district. In larger districts, the small, stable, and cohesive board can better carry out the campaign that is necessary to overcome voter apathy. In smaller districts, a board that is more responsive to voters may afford a general sense of efficacy in participation, resulting in greater turnout at elections. As Table 5.7 shows, both forces seem to be at work here.

In larger districts, greater turnout comes with board members chosen from the district at large, with smaller numbers of board members, and with a short

Table 5.7. Voter Turnout at School Financial Election by Legal Characteristics and Size of District.

<u>LEGAL CHARACTERISTIC</u>	<u>AVERAGE TURNOUT IN:</u>		
	<u>Large Districts</u>	<u>Medium Districts</u>	<u>Small Districts</u>
<u>Term of Board Members</u>			
Five or more years	31.96% (N=374)	27.20%* (N=215)	25.49%* (N=162)
Two to four years	31.83 (N=587)	35.29* (N=735)	40.85* (N=515)
<u>Area represented by Board Members</u>			
District at large	31.58 (N=895)	32.95* (N=543)	34.73* (N=514)
Wards	25.53 (N=78)	37.15* (N=235)	42.46* (N=113)
No legal provision, but practice is wards	25.50 (N=10)	25.56* (N=157)	47.42* (N=48)
<u>Number of Board Members</u>			
One to five	34.15* (N=485)	36.90* (N=487)	39.45* (N=367)
Six to nine	28.53* (N=444)	30.08* (N=462)	33.98* (N=310)
Ten or more	27.83 (N=48)	16.11* (N=11)	41.17* (N=6)
<u>Time Needed to Change Majority of Board</u>			
More than two years	27.22* (N=254)	33.70 (N=289)	31.18* (N=223)
One or two years	32.20* (N=700)	33.37 (N=645)	36.68* (N=460)

* Entries marked with asterisk have variance ratios significant at .05 level.

time required to change the majority of the board. Of these, only the latter argues against tighter control by the board itself -- that is, less responsiveness to the public.

In smaller districts, greater turnout comes with shorter terms for board members, with representation by wards, with larger numbers of board members, and with a short time required for changing the majority of the board. All of these are indicative of greater responsiveness of the board to the public.

These findings suggest that in larger districts communications are used mainly as a means of getting the voters to approve policy when simple acquiescence is no longer possible. Bond and tax campaigns as typically conducted by large school districts emphasize the sending of persuasive information to the voter in order to get him to approve proposed policy.

For smaller districts an alternative generalization is proposed. Legal arrangements responsive to the voter are associated with higher turnout. Turnout is related inversely to size itself. Smaller district size apparently gives the voter greater opportunity to participate, if only indirectly, in the formulation of policy and hence increase his feeling of efficacy for voting in school financial elections.

* * * * *

Summary and Conclusions

In this study we have attempted to determine the relationship between voter turnout and the outcome of school financial elections, to show some of the

characteristics of turnout, and to show several sources of greater turnout.

Turnout is highly related to election outcome. Mean turnout at elections that failed is significantly higher than at elections that passed. Low turnout is related to success, moderate turnout to failure. High turnout is related almost equally to success and failure, with a slight margin favoring success.

Turnout at school financial elections is found to be generally low. It is hypothesized that the low level of turnout is related to low feelings of efficacy among voters.

Turnout is found to be inversely related to the enrollment size of the district. Turnout also varies by type of election and district size. Turnout is higher for bond elections in small districts and for tax elections in large districts.

The finding that turnout varies significantly by geographic region suggests the need for local norms. The unified district also appears to have greater turnout. The lack of trends in turnout over the past several years suggests that the apparent increase of interest in public education may be limited to a highly visible minority of citizens.

Turnout is found to be directly related to the importance of a bond issue as measured by its absolute amount. This evidence is supplemented by the finding that turnout is higher in districts which are above the median in proportion of funds derived from local sources and below the median in proportion of funds derived from state sources.

An examination of the effects on turnout of certain legal variables in

different sizes of districts suggests a pair of complementary hypotheses. In larger districts, arrangements which allow greater control by the board result in higher turnout. In smaller districts, arrangements responsive to the voter result in higher turnout. Manipulative activities are made possible by legal arrangements which invest strong control. This produces the selective campaigning typical of, and apparently necessary in many large districts. In the smaller districts, the voter has greater opportunity to participate, if only indirectly, in the formulation of educational policy. This raises his feeling of efficacy for the review of policy and accounts for the higher levels of turnout found in smaller districts.

CHAPTER SIX

EXPLORATIONS

Our immediate concern has been to answer the question: How can understanding, obtained through effective communication, contribute to the support of public education? However, we have found it prudent from time to time to turn our attention from the mainstream of our research and explore several tributaries. We have taken these side trips for several reasons.

Our model of school-community relations suggested that we must eventually look at another facet of the decision-making process, the reality of the factors perceived affecting the school-community relationship. We have isolated several community attributes from census data and tested them as correlates of school support.

With practicing administrators we tested whether information obtained by research could be the basis for local action in improving the school-community relationship. We attempted to establish an information service with nine school districts that were ostensibly willing to improve existing school-community relations on the basis of these reports.

Resources were available which might not be present at some later date,

such as samples, interviewers, and research underway at other universities. In several instances, we were able to integrate independent doctoral research studies within the framework of the problem as we conceptualized it.

These investigations have produced valuable insights toward better definition of the problem of school-community relations. We find that we can obtain objective measures of factors affecting the school-community relationship. We have seen that relations between a community and its schools cannot be improved simply on the basis of an information service which points up the strengths and weaknesses of the interaction. And, finally, we have been able to stimulate independent study on topics related to this project. We shall report in this chapter some of these explorations.

* * * * *

Community Characteristics and Educational Support

Our conceptual model of school and community interaction on educational policy points out that interaction is operative at two levels: among actual factors entering into educational policy and among factors as perceived by the participants in school-community relations.

In our attempt to measure the state of understanding attained by people participating in school affairs, we have reported the extent to which they hold common perceptions about the effect of certain factors within the school-community relationship. We have seen that the more congruent the perceptions among

participants -- that is, the better they understand the situation -- the more likely the schools will have a success record in school financial elections. And these success records will be stable over longer periods of time.

Ample research has previously documented that many decisions are made on what is perceived to be the situation. A community may vote down a bond issue because it feels the needs are frills, or because it sees a "recessionary trend" coming on. But equally important is the reality of the situation. It may well be that some communities cannot afford to build the needed facilities, or that community growth does not warrant expansion at this time. Thus, the interaction between school and community must be looked at not only in terms of factors perceived affecting the school-community relationship, but also in terms of the factors as they are in actuality.

We have said from the outset that public attitudes and behaviors relevant to the schools function in the context of certain community characteristics such as economic wealth, population growth, educational attainment, and degree of urbanization. These and other community attributes probably affect the abilities and desires of the public to support their local schools financially. We have faced a difficult task, however, in identifying these characteristics so that we can include them in our analysis. Once these attributes are sorted out, the problem remains of how to express such community characteristics quantitatively so that we can compare them from community to community, from state to state. Absolute figures on economic wealth, for example, do not have the same meaning in

California and Mississippi. The search for hard data about community characteristics has attracted several researchers to census data. Green (5) used census data to establish inferential categories of social and economic status in an American city. He supplemented census data with local statistics and observations. Later work by Van Arsdal, Camilleri, and Schmid (29) developed this approach further, obtaining verification of hypothesized dimensions of urbanity, segregation, and social rank. They used only census data. Jonassen (13) factored a large number of Ohio county census data to reveal underlying dimensions. James (12) factored state financial data relevant to educational support, isolating dimensions of resources. Schramm and Carter (26) hypothesized several dimensions of national communication systems, then used data collected by the United Nations to demonstrate their validity and reliability.

In relating community characteristics to educational support, one problem has been that of inapplicability. Census data are not generally available for the geographic-political divisions which constitute school districts. Jonassen postulated that county data would adequately represent communities. As the results which follow indicate, this assumption has some justification.

A second problem is the form of the census data. Particularly if community characteristics in different states are assessed, some allowance must be made for differences in effective educational support as expressed in community resources. A given economic capability in Kentucky may not have the same relative value in New York. But if community characteristics are expressed as percentile ranks

within each state -- as done here -- then relative values are retained from state to state. It is expected that a community whose economic capability falls at the 80th percentile in one state will have the same potential for educational support as a community in another state which, though richer in absolute figures, has the same percentile rank.

This study first takes up the reliability and validity of four indexes of community characteristics: urbanity, economic capability, educational attainment, and community growth. Their reliability and validity demonstrated, they are then related to local support for education.

From Jonassen's Ohio county census data (1950), Guttman (7) and Menzel (15) scaling criteria revealed four clusters of data (see Table 6.1). Five clusters had been hypothesized, but a dimension of community effort could not be confirmed. A second test of these dimensions on California county data (1950) gave the same results, but reduced the variables contributing to the indexes of urbanity and economic capability.

As Table 6.2 shows, the community characteristics have high intercorrelations among themselves. This finding suggests an essential unity among the community characteristics; and, if such characteristics are proved related to support of local public education, this unity might yield an overestimate of the importance of any single characteristic.

Further confirmation of validity for the indexes comes from their value as

Table 6.1. Community Indexes and Their Reliability, for Ohio and California.*

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTIC	COEFFICIENT OF:					
	Reproducibility		Scalability: Items		Scalability: Ind.	
	Ohio	Calif.	Ohio	Calif.	Ohio	Calif.
Urbanity	.98	.98	.94	.93	.91	.81
Economic Capability	.98	.94	.89	.85	.83	.64
Educational Attainment	.99	.97	.94	.91	.90	.81
Community Growth	.95	.95	.85	.86	.74	.71

- * Based on 88 Ohio counties and 58 California counties. The census data contributing to each index are: Urbanity - size of population; no. of industries employing 300 or more employees; percentage of clerical, sales and kindred workers; density of population; percentage of urban population. Economic Capability - median family income in dollars; percentage of families with income over \$5,000; percentage of families with income under \$2,000 (sign reversed); median value of one-unit, owner occupied dwellings. Educational Attainment - number of pupils per school district; persons over 25 years of age who completed four years of college, persons over 25 years of age who completed high school. Community Growth - percent of dwelling units with mechanical refrigerators; percent of dwelling units built since 1940; county rank on population increase since 1940; total school enrollment; deaths per 1,000 from all causes (sign reversed).

Table 6.2. Interrelationships of Community Characteristics, for Ohio and California.*

INDEX	INDEX			
	Urban.	Ec. Cap.	Educ. Att.	Comm. Growth
Urbanity	Cal/Ohio**	.83	.56	.68
Econ. Cap.	.58	Cal/Ohio	.66	.74
Educ. Att.	.62	.51	Cal/Ohio	.61
Comm. Growth	.83	.52	.67	Cal/Ohio

- * Correlations are corrected contingency coefficients, C', based on 88 Ohio counties and 58 California counties.

- **The Ohio correlations are above the diagonal on the right; the California correlations are below the diagonal on the left.

predictors of public school support. The indexes were compared to the success of school district financial elections: the one closest to 1950, the census year, and the one closest to the present. Table 6.3 shows the results.

Table 6.3. California Community Indexes Related to Success in School Finance Elections.*

<u>INDEX</u>	<u>ELECTION CLOSEST TO:</u>	
	<u>1950</u>	<u>Present</u>
Urbanity	.24	.05
Economic Capability	<u>.31</u>	.07
Educational Attainment	.23	.09
Community Growth	<u>.33</u>	.21

* C' coefficients, based on 192 cases. Underlined entries are significant statistically, by chi square test, at the .05 level.

The census data indexes have some value as predictors of public school support when they are current.

In Table 6.4, the combination of economic capability and community growth emerges as a stronger predictor of educational support than either taken separately. It can be seen, moreover, that each makes a distinct contribution to the prediction.

Table 6.4. Economic Capability and Community Growth Related to Educational Support, for California Communities.

<u>CHARACTERISTICS</u>	1950 ELECTIONS:			<u>N</u>
	<u>Failing</u>	<u>Succeeding</u>	<u>Totals</u>	
Low Economic Capability/ Low Community Growth	27%	73%	100%	75
Low Economic Capability/ High Community Growth	16%	84%	100%	25
High Economic Capability/ Low Community Growth	18%	82%	100%	27
High Economic Capability/ High Community Growth	11%	89%	100%	65

Reaction to a Principal's Report

One of our postulates is that understanding is the result of effective communication. We have asked how and in what way understanding between school and community can result from communicatory activity. A primary mode of communication between the school and the parents is the principal's newsletter. We have assessed this means for improving the congruence of perceptions (understanding) among parents about selected factors in the school-community relationship.

The principal of a California junior high school distributed eight issues of a "Principal's Report" to parents during a school year. The children themselves carried the reports home. Regularly, about once a month, this report informed parents about the people, the practices, and the problems of their junior high.

Before publication began, a survey team talked to a sample of parents of 38 junior high students. Their responses furnished suggestions to the principal about the areas which he might cover through the year. After publication of the Report through the year, the survey team returned to talk with the same parents.

In this exploratory study three objectives were attempted:

1. To suggest pertinent content for the Report;
2. To find out who read the Report;
3. To find out whether those who read the Report were changed in their understanding of the school-community relationship.

The results of the first interviewing of 38 parents revealed both areas of strength and of weakness in the school-community relationship. All but a few of the principal areas identified were covered by the eight editions of the Report.

A provocative finding from the first interviews was that curriculum, student behavior, and the quality of the staff were seen by some parents as helping the schools and by other parents as hurting the schools. The attention paid these areas might pay off double by reinforcing those parents seeing them favorably and perhaps convincing those seeing them unfavorably. But, it all depended on whether the parents read the Report.

Of the 38 parents initially interviewed, 30 were available for re-interviewing at the end of the school year. Of these 30 parents:

14 had not read any issue of the Report;

9 had read at least one issue and could recall something mentioned;

7 said they had read at least one issue but could recall nothing correctly from the content.

Who were the parents most likely to read the Report? Those most likely to read were:

1. those somewhat dissatisfied with the schools;
2. from white collar worker families;
3. those with higher income;
4. those with higher education.

How about those who thought they had read the Report, but could not identify its content accurately? They were parents who were most satisfied with the schools. Certainly a clear implication would be that such reports are being written largely for critics of the schools, and should be constituted with that in mind. "The Principal's Report" in this community was so constituted.

To assess the effects of the Report on understanding, a comparison of before and after publication perceptions was made for three groups;

- 14 parents who had not read the Report (control group);
- 7 parents who said they read the Report but couldn't recall the content;
- 7 parents who read the Report.

Statistically significant results were obtained from analysis of changes. The measure of change is the difference in the average intragroup correlation of perceptions from before publication to after publication. These averages are an indication of the extent to which the parents in the group see school-community

relations the same way. If they see the situation the same way, the correlation would be higher among them. If they do not, the correlation would be lower. Thus these correlations are measures of the congruence of perceptions in the group or, as we defined it in Chapter One, the state of understanding in the group. It has been our contention that the significance of an informational service lies in its ability to afford persons a common picture of the situation.

Initially, the congruence of perceptions was low in each of the three groups. (See Table 6.5.) After publication of the Report, the congruence figures were still lower for all groups. The control group shows that a change in test format probably accounted for the dip. But there are differences. The group that read the Report did not drop off nearly as much as that group which did not read the Report, or that group which professed to read the Report but could not recall its content.

Table 6.5. Congruence of Perceptions in Several Groups Before and After Publication of a Principal's Report.

<u>GROUP</u>	<u>CONGRUENCE COEFFICIENT:*</u>		<u>Difference</u>
	<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>	
Non-readers (control)	.216	.133	-.083
Mistaken readers	.230	.123	-.107
Readers	.203	.183	-.020

Note: p is less than .01 that Readers differ from either of the other groups by chance.

* Coefficients are contingency coefficients corrected for broad groupings.

* * * * *

Self Help Studies

In the course of our research, we have developed two instruments, the Interview Guide and the Factor Evaluation Inventory, which enable us to observe, in a systematic fashion, the significant factors in the school-community relationship. The Interview Guide gives us a detailed picture of the conditions which contribute to the school-community relationship. The Factor Evaluation Inventory tells us which factors are perceived as significant contributors to the school-community relationship at a given point in time.

These instruments can be a potential aid to local school boards and administrators. These research tools could provide information about the local school-community interaction, providing a basis for an action program for the improvement of that relationship.

We initiated a program of self-help studies (officially, the Stanford School-Community Information Service) in which we, with the cooperation of nine participating districts, sought to provide reliable information about the school-community relationship. We selected nine districts for the study on the basis of two criteria: first, the desire of the school board and administration to improve the level of support for the local schools through increased school-community understanding (or to maintain the level already attained after a period of non-support and strife), and, second, the willingness of the board and the administration to commit themselves to action directed toward such improvement.

Trained interviewers were to contact selected informants in each of these

districts and administer to them the guide and the inventory. A written report to each community would identify the areas of content that needed emphasis. On the basis of this report, the local school district would design and execute a course of action to improve the school-community relationship. Our staff would take a later look at this relationship, measuring the results of the program carried out by the district. The essential purpose of the studies was to find out whether these instruments could help local school boards and administrators to help themselves. In several districts, following the interviewer's initial measure of the local situation, one written report would not only identify the problem areas, it would also contain specific suggestions as guides to corrective action.

In each of the nine communities, we assessed the situation and reported to the school district the areas to which the school and community should give attention. However, at this point, the participating school administrators began to withdraw from their commitments. The schools welcomed the "feedback" provided by the report, but they were unwilling to take any steps toward developing better understanding between the school and community.

The behavior of the superintendents in these nine cases supports our inference that the superintendent role is first to preserve the existence of the system. It was evident from our assessment of the state of school-community relations in the participating districts that in each case the school system and its administrator were under serious threats. Three of the districts were to be swallowed up later in reorganization and unification moves, one district met its

fifth straight bond election defeat shortly after we completed our interviews, and the contracts of at least two superintendents were not renewed.

This experience confirms our observation in Chapter Two that school administrators see as their first responsibility the maintaining of the school system, even at the risk of divorcing the schools from the community by lack of communication. Survival comes first, progress and understanding must wait. Under these circumstances, to give the community information about the school's strengths and weaknesses is to threaten the school system itself and the superintendent who is its leader.

* * * * *

Associated Studies

During the three-year life of the project, continual effort has been made to bring into the project doctoral studies in educational administration. Graduate students have been encouraged to participate in the planning and the execution of the project, and several have responded. Chapters Three, Four and Five reflect in large measure the doctoral dissertations of three students in educational administration.

One of the project members, also completing his doctoral program, studied forms of participation in school affairs (27). He found a lack of measures and hypotheses regarding participation in school affairs when that participation is exhibited in other than voting or organizational membership. Drawing upon

reference group theory, the hypothesis was proposed and tested that the local or cosmopolitan orientation held by an individual is related to his participation in school affairs. People with a local orientation are said to be preoccupied with the immediate community to the virtual exclusion of the larger social scene; contrastingly, the cosmopolitan person maintains a minimal tie to the community and is oriented toward the world outside the local community. In addition to identifying these two types, six forms of participation in school affairs other than voting and organizational membership were identified among a sample of PTA members and related to orientation. Indices were constructed which measured:

Activity in organizational affairs;

Communicated interest in school affairs;
the psychological closeness of the voter
to the schools;

Loyalty to the organization;

Compliance to organizational policy;

Pride in the local schools;

Knowledge of organizational policy.

The first four indices met the criteria set by Guttman and Menzel for reliable scales. The latter two indices consisted of highly correlated item pairs.

All forms of participation displayed significant correlation with at least one other aspect of participation. Loyalty was most highly correlated with other dimensions of participation in school affairs. Communicated interest, organizational activity, and knowledge of organizational policy clustered together

as a set, correlated with each other and loyalty. The dimensions of pride and compliance lacked significant correlation with most other dimensions. The exceptions were a correlation between communicated interest and pride and a correlation between loyalty and compliance. Interestingly, the two dimensions of pride and compliance are themselves significantly correlated.

The study showed that variously oriented participants in school affairs engage in school activities in different ways. Locals are more likely than cosmopolitans to demonstrate loyalty to the organization and to be involved in organizational activities. Cosmopolitans demonstrate more communicated interest in school affairs; they were inclined to read more and to talk more about school affairs than locals.

In addition, several characteristics of locals and cosmopolitans identified in other studies were affirmed. Compared with cosmopolitans, locals tend to be less mobile; they have less formal education, particularly beyond college; they hold fewer professional positions; they have fewer organizational memberships, they belong to more service clubs, but to fewer professional organizations and hobby groups; and they subscribe to fewer news and opinion magazines and to fewer daily newspapers published outside the community. It is evident that if the schools are to encourage greater participation, they must appeal to two audiences who have different values and interests.

Another doctoral study underway, although not an integral part of our research effort, grew out of the development of the Factor Evaluation Inventory.

Incorporating certain features of our inventory, an instrument was constructed to measure change in parental attitudes toward aspects of the school program as a result of parent-teacher conferences. The results of this investigation should have implications for the use of interpersonal communications in a planned program for improving the school-community relationship.

* * * * *

Summary and Conclusions

To review our explorations, we have found ourselves concerned with three kinds of problems:

1. Securing objective data for factors measured up to this point only by perceived effects in the school-community relationship;
2. Testing the utility of instruments and research findings in the improvement of school-community relations; and,
3. Integrating our research efforts with the training of school administrators.

During the first years of this study we have identified 162 factors that appear related to success or failure of financial issues. We know how informed observers perceive the contribution of these factors toward the success or failure of school-community relations. But we will want to estimate the impact of the factors observed objectively. A first step has been made in a study of California census data that revealed economic capability and community growth are related to the

likelihood of success in school financial elections.

Assured that our Interview Guide and Factor Evaluation Inventory provided us with valid data on areas affecting the school-community relationship, we then sought to extend their usefulness. We found that the Inventory could isolate pertinent content for a principal's newsletter and could then measure the extent of understanding achieved among the parents who read the bulletin. We found that the moderately dissatisfied parents were more likely to read the bulletin and remember what they read.

When these same instruments were used as the basis for an informational program designed to improve the level of understanding between the community and the schools, serious problems arose. We had hoped that the information service, by providing the school administrator and school board with an accurate assessment of the strengths and weaknesses in the school-community relationship, would enable them to move toward improving understanding. Instead, we saw the school administrator unwilling to act, concerned to maintain the status quo, poor as it was, rather than run the risk of jeopardizing further the position of the school. First efforts toward progress and mutual understanding between school and community, we concluded, must come through responsible initiations by a third party.

Coordination with research training in the doctoral program in school administration has been a prime goal of the project. In addition to experiences in the day-to-day activities of the study, we have encouraged candidates to conduct associated studies on research topics within the framework of the project.

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APPENDIX A
BASIC DATA TABLES

- Table A.1. Factors Seen as Helping in Success Communities by Size of District: Proportion of Observers Noting Factor and Rank Order of Proportion.
- Table A.2. Factors Seen as Hurting in Failure Communities by Size of District: Proportion of Observers Noting Factor and Rank Order of Proportion.
- Table A.3. Factors Seen as Helping in Failure Communities by Size of District: Proportion of Observers Noting Factor and Rank Order of Proportion.
- Table A.4. Factors Seen as Hurting in Success Communities by Size of District: Proportion of Observers Noting Factor and Rank Order of Proportion.
- Table A.5. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by District Size: Rank Orders.
- Table A.6. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Informant Type: Rank Orders.
- Table A.7. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Size of District: Correlation Coefficients.
- Table A.8. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Type of Informant: Correlation Coefficients.

Table A.1. Factors Seen as Helping in Success Communities by Size of District:
Proportion of Observers Noting Factor and Rank Order of Proportion.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
1	32.9	34.1	44.9	42	29	26
2	38.6	37.3	49.4	4	10	7
3	32.9	34.7	46.9	42	25	16
4	36.2	36.1	48.9	14	17	9
5	34.9	36.1	47.6	22	17	14
6	25.8	23.5	31.8	86	91	72
7	27.9	27.8	41.4	73	67	39
8	34.6	35.8	48.4	25	20	11
9	34.2	35.2	44.4	29	24	27
10	25.2	26.4	37.1	90	73	59
11	31.9	33.5	43.4	49	34	32
12	36.2	38.4	45.9	14	7	23
13	36.2	33.8	49.1	14	33	8
14	34.9	35.8	46.9	22	20	16
15	29.2	22.1	23.8	62	97	109
16	31.9	27.5	22.8	49	68	111
17	37.3	32.1	28.6	9	42	84
18	28.9	28.4	37.6	64	64	56
19	33.2	38.4	48.9	38	7	9
20	28.2	24.1	32.6	72	88	70
21	36.6	36.7	48.1	11	12	12
22	39.3	39.5	54.6	2	4	1
23	28.9	24.6	35.1	64	85	64
24	11.7	7.2	6.0	138	145	147
25	38.3	39.8	51.1	5	3	4
26	38.9	38.7	50.9	3	6	5
27	33.6	34.1	45.4	33	29	24
28	27.5	24.1	27.8	75	88	86
29	2.4	2.9	2.5	160	155	154
30	33.9	36.4	47.9	32	14	13

Table A.1. Factors Seen as Helping in Success Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
31	27.2	30.4	36.8	78	49	60
32	31.2	31.0	46.1	56	46	21
33	30.5	31.2	45.1	59	44	25
34	31.9	31.2	44.1	49	44	28
35	10.7	13.8	13.0	142	131	138
36	34.2	33.5	43.4	29	34	32
37	26.9	34.4	36.3	80	86	61
38	1.3	4.0	1.8	162	150	157
39	7.7	6.3	4.8	147	146	149
40	20.5	20.9	24.8	109	100	106
41	18.1	17.2	21.3	120	120	116
42	17.1	15.8	14.0	121	125	136
43	34.9	33.5	37.3	22	34	57
44	27.2	25.5	28.8	78	80	81
45	23.5	25.2	34.6	98	81	65
46	37.9	39.5	50.9	7	4	5
47	22.8	19.2	21.6	101	108	113
48	21.8	19.8	18.3	104	104	125
49	13.4	13.8	16.5	132	131	130
50	32.2	29.8	37.3	45	55	57
51	22.5	24.9	34.1	102	83	66
52	9.4	8.3	13.3	145	143	137
53	16.8	15.8	24.8	124	125	106
54	28.5	30.7	43.4	68	48	32
55	30.2	31.8	38.4	60	43	55
56	36.9	36.4	44.1	10	14	28
57	26.9	26.7	31.3	80	71	73
58	19.5	22.9	29.1	114	94	80
59	16.1	18.6	25.3	125	116	101
60	11.4	12.0	15.5	140	136	134

Table A.1. Factors Seen as Helping in Success Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
61	13.4	17.8	24.1	132	118	108
62	34.6	36.1	46.4	25	17	19
63	31.9	30.4	44.1	49	49	28
64	33.6	32.7	41.9	33	39	38
65	25.2	23.2	29.8	90	92	78
66	28.5	26.1	35.8	68	74	62
67	25.2	19.2	18.1	90	108	126
68	33.6	31.0	40.9	33	46	42
69	32.2	27.5	32.6	45	68	70
70	31.9	29.5	38.6	49	59	54
71	31.2	29.2	38.9	56	61	50
72	27.5	28.1	33.8	75	66	68
73	25.5	25.8	25.8	89	77	98
74	19.5	19.2	19.8	114	108	121
75	19.8	19.5	19.6	112	106	123
76	24.8	25.2	26.6	93	81	94
77	20.1	23.2	28.8	111	92	81
78	20.5	20.9	25.1	109	100	103
79	21.1	18.3	21.3	106	117	116
80	15.8	15.5	17.5	126	128	127
81	11.7	13.2	11.8	138	133	141
82	18.8	22.9	28.8	118	94	81
83	28.5	25.8	30.1	68	77	76
84	14.8	19.5	22.8	129	106	111
85	29.2	32.4	40.9	62	40	42
86	33.2	30.4	39.1	38	49	48
87	19.8	16.6	16.0	112	123	132
88	15.1	14.3	16.3	128	129	131
89	17.1	17.5	16.8	121	119	128
90	10.1	5.2	6.0	143	147	147

Table A.1. Factors Seen as Helping in Success Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
91	3.0	3.7	8.3	156	151	145
92	6.7	1.7	4.5	149	157	150
93	13.1	11.8	14.8	136	137	135
94	28.9	26.7	25.3	64	71	101
95	26.9	24.9	27.1	80	83	92
96	34.6	36.7	40.1	25	12	46
97	23.8	24.4	30.6	97	86	75
98	20.8	20.1	27.6	107	103	89
99	14.8	4.9	6.5	129	148	146
100	6.0	11.5	26.3	150	138	95
101	2.0	1.7	1.8	161	157	157
102	2.7	.6	2.0	158	161	156
103	8.4	11.2	12.0	146	140	140
104	9.7	11.5	10.8	144	138	142
105	19.1	19.2	26.8	117	108	93
106	19.5	18.9	21.6	114	113	113
107	17.1	14.3	19.8	121	129	121
108	37.6	34.4	46.6	8	27	18
109	35.2	35.5	46.1	21	23	21
110	33.2	29.2	39.1	38	61	48
111	31.9	30.4	41.4	49	49	39
112	11.1	7.7	12.5	141	144	139
113	24.8	21.8	25.1	93	98	103
114	36.6	41.6	47.6	11	1	14
115	23.2	23.8	26.3	100	90	95
116	29.9	29.8	28.6	61	55	84
117	33.6	34.1	38.9	33	29	50
118	35.9	35.8	42.6	17	20	36
119	35.6	34.1	40.9	18	29	42
120	27.9	27.2	29.8	73	70	78

Table A.1. Factors Seen as Helping in Success Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
121	18.5	15.8	20.1	119	125	119
122	2.7	3.4	1.8	158	152	157
123	15.8	13.2	10.0	126	133	143
124	7.1	4.6	4.0	148	149	151
125	20.8	17.2	23.8	107	120	109
126	31.2	28.4	40.1	56	64	46
127	24.5	18.9	21.6	95	113	113
128	28.5	25.8	27.8	68	77	86
129	24.2	21.5	25.8	96	99	98
130	3.4	2.0	2.5	155	156	154
131	5.4	3.4	4.0	151	152	151
132	14.1	12.6	18.6	131	135	124
133	12.4	10.6	16.0	137	141	132
134	31.9	29.8	31.1	49	55	74
135	26.9	29.3	42.9	80	60	35
136	38.3	38.1	51.6	5	9	3
137	35.6	34.7	46.4	18	25	19
138	34.2	30.4	34.1	29	49	66
139	33.6	28.7	27.6	33	63	89
140	5.0	3.2	2.8	152	154	153
141	26.9	26.1	30.1	80	74	76
142	35.6	37.3	41.1	18	10	41
143	32.2	33.0	38.9	45	37	50
144	32.9	32.4	38.9	42	40	50
145	33.2	33.0	43.6	38	37	31
146	28.9	30.4	40.4	64	49	45
147	27.5	26.1	33.8	75	74	68
148	39.6	40.4	51.9	1	2	2
149	13.4	9.2	9.0	132	142	144
150	13.4	16.9	16.8	132	122	128

Table A.1. Factors Seen as Helping in Success Communities, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>PROPORTION IN:</u>			<u>RANK ORDER IN:</u>		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
151	21.5	22.6	25.1	105	96	103
152	22.5	20.3	20.1	102	102	119
153	36.6	36.4	42.1	11	14	37
154	32.2	29.8	27.8	45	55	86
155	34.6	34.4	35.6	25	27	63
156	25.8	19.2	26.3	86	108	95
157	23.5	16.3	21.3	98	124	116
158	25.8	19.8	25.8	86	104	98
159	3.7	1.2	1.5	153	159	161
160	3.7	.6	1.8	153	161	157
161	3.0	1.2	1.3	156	159	162
162	26.2	18.9	27.3	85	113	91

Table A.2. Factors Seen as Hurting in Failure Communities by Size of District:
Proportion of Observers Noting Factor and Rank Order of Proportion.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
1	4.7	4.6	5.3	110	101	81
2	2.0	2.0	2.8	141	141	115
3	6.7	8.3	6.8	93	66	60
4	4.0	4.0	3.3	115	110	108
5	4.4	5.7	3.0	112	90	110
6	14.8	14.6	11.8	33	28	24
7	14.1	10.3	8.5	36	50	43
8	5.7	5.2	6.0	98	96	72
9	2.7	2.6	5.8	127	135	75
10	15.1	10.6	9.3	29	48	38
11	2.0	4.6	6.5	141	101	64
12	3.7	4.3	4.5	116	104	90
13	2.4	3.7	4.8	135	115	85
14	5.7	6.0	4.8	98	89	85
15	2.7	4.0	2.3	127	110	130
16	2.7	6.3	2.5	127	88	125
17	1.0	3.4	2.8	152	120	115
18	8.1	4.9	5.3	78	98	81
19	6.0	6.6	2.8	96	86	115
20	16.1	10.3	6.5	25	50	64
21	8.1	3.4	2.5	78	120	125
22	.3	.9	1.0	160	157	156
23	.3	1.7	.5	160	143	161
24	14.8	17.2	8.8	33	17	40
25	1.0	1.2	.8	152	152	157
26	2.4	.9	2.3	135	157	130
27	1.0	1.7	3.8	152	143	102
28	2.0	2.0	1.5	141	141	147
29	30.9	29.5	24.3	7	7	3
30	5.4	7.2	6.5	102	79	64

Table A.2. Factors Seen as Hurting in Failure Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
31	4.7	4.0	3.0	110	110	110
32	11.4	8.0	6.3	49	69	69
33	11.1	7.7	6.5	50	76	64
34	10.1	7.2	4.8	59	79	85
35	18.8	16.1	11.5	17	20	26
36	4.4	3.4	4.3	112	120	94
37	7.4	5.4	4.0	89	95	99
38	15.4	12.3	11.3	27	38	27
39	26.2	14.9	10.5	10	25	31
40	18.1	11.8	9.8	20	41	34
41	12.8	11.8	10.5	42	41	31
42	6.7	5.2	2.0	93	96	135
43	3.0	3.7	2.0	123	115	135
44	5.4	3.4	4.3	102	120	94
45	5.4	3.4	3.0	102	120	110
46	3.0	2.3	2.8	123	137	115
47	5.0	4.3	3.3	106	104	108
48	5.0	4.9	3.5	106	98	105
49	12.1	13.5	13.8	44	32	14
50	9.4	11.2	5.0	65	47	83
51	9.7	6.6	5.8	62	86	75
52	3.7	4.3	1.8	116	104	140
53	9.4	8.6	4.5	65	63	90
54	7.7	5.7	1.5	83	90	147
55	2.4	2.9	1.8	135	133	140
56	5.7	8.0	4.8	98	69	85
57	10.1	9.7	7.0	59	55	57
58	7.1	10.0	8.3	91	54	45
59	7.7	12.6	12.5	83	37	22
60	25.2	24.4	16.5	13	9	10

Table A.2. Factors Seen as Hurting in Failure Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
61	10.7	9.5	11.3	53	57	27
62	8.4	7.5	6.8	74	77	60
63	15.1	12.9	8.0	29	36	47
64	11.1	11.8	7.0	50	41	57
65	9.4	9.5	5.5	65	57	79
66	14.8	14.9	7.8	33	25	50
67	9.1	8.6	7.3	69	63	54
68	12.1	13.2	7.3	44	34	54
69	13.1	9.2	8.3	40	60	45
70	7.1	6.9	6.3	91	83	69
71	10.7	11.5	7.5	53	46	51
72	12.4	10.3	7.0	43	50	57
73	15.1	15.5	13.3	29	22	17
74	18.1	16.1	12.5	20	20	22
75	13.4	14.0	10.3	37	29	33
76	10.4	9.7	6.3	56	55	69
77	18.8	13.2	6.8	17	34	60
78	9.1	8.0	10.8	69	69	30
79	8.4	11.8	13.3	74	41	17
80	13.1	15.2	13.0	40	23	19
81	16.8	7.2	4.3	24	79	94
82	22.2	21.5	8.8	15	15	40
83	9.7	12.0	13.0	62	39	19
84	13.4	16.6	13.8	37	18	14
85	.7	2.3	2.8	158	137	115
86	3.0	3.7	4.3	123	115	94
87	10.7	8.6	6.8	53	63	60
88	12.1	10.6	7.3	44	48	54
89	2.7	3.7	2.5	127	115	125
90	6.0	3.4	2.8	96	120	115

Table A.2. Factors Seen as Hurting in Failure Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
91	9.7	7.5	9.0	62	77	39
92	25.2	23.2	12.8	13	11	21
93	15.4	12.0	9.5	27	39	35
94	9.4	4.9	4.0	65	98	99
95	8.1	4.3	1.8	78	104	140
96	1.7	1.4	.8	149	149	157
97	7.7	9.5	5.5	83	57	79
98	8.7	10.3	6.0	71	50	72
99	8.1	5.7	2.8	78	90	115
100	2.7	5.7	7.5	127	90	51
101	29.2	23.8	17.8	8	10	9
102	35.6	36.4	25.6	3	2	2
103	35.6	31.0	19.3	3	4	8
104	10.4	8.3	8.0	56	66	47
105	26.2	22.6	13.8	10	13	14
106	39.6	38.7	26.8	1	1	1
107	21.5	22.6	15.0	16	13	13
108	5.0	6.9	5.0	106	83	83
109	7.4	8.0	4.5	89	69	90
110	18.8	16.3	11.8	17	19	24
111	12.1	8.9	8.0	44	61	47
112	26.2	32.7	24.1	10	3	4
113	3.7	1.7	2.5	116	143	125
114	2.0	1.7	.5	141	143	161
115	2.4	2.3	1.5	135	137	147
116	2.4	1.2	1.5	135	152	147
117	8.1	8.0	3.5	78	69	105
118	3.4	3.4	1.8	122	120	140
119	5.0	3.4	2.3	106	120	130
120	10.1	4.0	2.8	59	110	115

Table A.2. Factors Seen as Hurting in Failure Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
121	7.7	4.3	2.8	83	104	115
122	17.8	13.8	9.5	22	30	35
123	15.8	13.8	7.5	26	30	51
124	10.4	8.3	4.8	56	66	85
125	15.1	11.8	8.5	29	41	43
126	11.7	13.5	9.5	48	32	35
127	5.4	4.3	4.0	102	104	99
128	8.4	8.0	5.8	74	69	75
129	8.4	8.0	4.5	74	69	90
130	17.5	20.6	15.8	23	16	11
131	32.2	31.0	21.1	6	4	5
132	11.1	15.2	8.8	50	23	40
133	13.4	14.9	11.0	37	25	29
134	3.7	2.9	2.0	116	133	135
135	---	.9	1.3	162	157	152
136	3.7	1.2	1.8	116	152	140
137	1.7	.9	1.3	149	157	152
138	1.0	---	1.8	152	161	140
139	2.0	1.2	1.8	141	152	140
140	8.7	7.2	5.8	71	79	75
141	1.7	1.2	.8	149	152	157
142	2.4	2.3	1.3	135	137	152
143	5.7	4.6	3.8	98	101	102
144	4.4	3.4	2.5	112	120	125
145	2.0	1.4	2.8	141	149	115
146	2.7	1.7	3.5	127	143	105
147	2.0	1.4	2.0	141	149	135
148	1.0	---	1.5	152	161	147
149	7.7	4.0	3.0	83	110	110
150	8.7	6.9	6.5	71	83	64

Table A.2. Factors Seen as Hurting in Failure Communities, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>PROPORTION IN:</u>			<u>RANK ORDER IN:</u>		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
151	6.7	5.7	4.3	93	90	94
152	7.7	8.9	6.0	83	61	72
153	.7	2.6	1.3	158	135	152
154	1.0	1.7	.8	152	143	157
155	2.0	3.7	2.0	141	115	135
156	3.7	3.2	2.3	116	130	130
157	2.7	3.4	2.3	127	120	130
158	3.0	3.2	3.0	123	130	110
159	27.2	23.2	15.8	9	11	11
160	35.6	30.1	20.3	3	6	7
161	35.9	28.1	20.6	2	8	6
162	2.7	3.2	3.8	127	130	102

Table A.3. Factors Seen as Helping in Failure Communities by Size of District:
Proportion of Observers Noting Factor and Rank Order of Proportion.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
1	45.9	43.5	30.3	31	22	39
2	48.3	44.7	35.3	19	18	10
3	48.7	45.8	33.8	17	14	14
4	50.7	46.7	36.1	9	9	7
5	47.0	44.1	34.3	26	21	13
6	36.9	32.4	23.8	74	82	81
7	39.3	39.8	29.3	63	44	45
8	49.7	49.0	33.8	14	6	14
9	47.3	45.3	29.1	24	15	49
10	33.6	39.5	28.8	90	47	51
11	42.6	42.1	31.8	44	31	23
12	50.0	46.1	35.3	12	12	10
13	49.3	46.1	33.1	15	12	17
14	47.7	43.5	32.8	22	22	19
15	41.3	32.4	15.5	51	82	118
16	49.0	34.4	15.0	16	71	122
17	53.0	42.7	24.1	2	27	80
18	34.9	39.8	27.1	82	44	63
19	45.3	42.4	34.8	32	29	12
20	32.6	33.5	25.3	94	77	72
21	32.9	47.6	36.3	92	8	6
22	54.4	53.0	38.3	1	1	1
23	38.6	31.2	24.8	66	89	78
24	15.4	9.7	3.0	137	144	153
25	52.3	48.4	36.6	5	7	4
26	51.3	51.3	37.3	8	3	3
27	47.0	41.8	32.1	26	32	21
28	30.9	31.5	18.8	101	87	108
29	30.2	2.0	1.5	103	162	162
30	50.3	45.0	31.8	10	16	23

Table A.3. Factors Seen as Helping in Failure Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
31	40.6	35.8	29.3	54	63	45
32	41.9	42.4	30.8	49	29	36
33	40.6	41.0	29.3	54	37	45
34	42.6	41.5	31.3	44	34	28
35	18.4	14.0	13.8	132	134	128
36	45.0	40.4	31.3	35	39	28
37	31.5	30.1	25.3	96	91	72
38	5.7	2.3	2.3	152	161	157
39	7.4	7.2	3.3	150	147	151
40	28.5	26.6	18.5	105	104	109
41	23.2	24.6	16.0	119	109	117
42	18.1	19.2	13.5	133	121	130
43	46.3	39.3	29.1	28	48	49
44	31.5	29.2	22.8	96	94	85
45	32.9	30.1	26.8	92	91	66
46	52.0	51.6	37.6	6	2	2
47	26.2	26.1	19.8	109	106	102
48	25.8	20.6	15.5	112	116	118
49	15.4	14.9	12.0	137	131	134
50	36.6	35.2	27.3	77	65	61
51	25.2	28.1	22.3	113	98	87
52	10.7	10.3	10.5	144	140	138
53	20.1	17.8	15.3	129	124	120
54	36.2	35.0	27.8	78	67	56
55	34.6	33.2	27.6	86	79	57
56	44.0	41.5	32.1	41	34	21
57	33.9	26.9	22.8	88	103	85
58	24.5	23.8	20.3	116	112	99
59	16.8	18.9	19.0	136	122	106
60	13.4	10.3	11.0	142	140	136

Table A.3. Factors Seen as Helping in Failure Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
61	18.8	18.6	14.5	131	123	125
62	45.0	41.8	32.6	35	32	20
63	38.3	38.1	31.1	68	54	32
64	40.6	41.3	31.6	54	36	27
65	33.6	28.9	25.3	90	95	72
66	35.2	31.5	27.3	80	87	61
67	34.9	28.9	17.8	82	95	112
68	40.9	37.8	31.8	52	55	23
69	37.6	36.4	26.8	71	62	66
70	40.3	39.0	28.6	60	51	53
71	36.9	36.7	28.8	74	59	51
72	35.2	33.2	26.6	80	79	69
73	31.5	28.4	21.1	96	97	92
74	22.5	19.8	15.3	122	120	120
75	23.5	20.9	18.5	118	115	109
76	31.9	27.8	24.6	95	100	79
77	24.5	28.1	26.8	116	98	66
78	26.2	26.6	16.5	109	104	116
79	29.9	21.5	14.8	104	113	123
80	17.1	15.8	12.5	134	128	133
81	13.8	10.0	9.3	141	142	141
82	22.8	21.2	19.8	120	114	102
83	34.2	34.4	19.5	87	71	105
84	20.1	16.6	16.8	129	126	114
85	42.6	37.0	27.6	44	58	57
86	40.6	35.0	28.1	54	67	54
87	20.8	15.2	9.5	128	130	140
88	15.4	14.0	10.8	137	134	137
89	22.5	15.8	13.3	122	128	132
90	8.4	7.7	2.8	148	146	154

Table A.3. Factors Seen as Helping in Failure Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
91	5.4	3.2	5.3	155	157	145
92	5.7	2.6	2.5	152	160	156
93	22.1	14.6	14.5	124	132	125
94	38.3	32.1	22.1	68	84	88
95	40.3	30.4	20.6	60	90	96
96	48.0	43.0	31.1	20	26	32
97	31.2	25.2	23.3	99	108	83
98	27.9	20.1	17.8	107	118	112
99	25.2	10.6	4.0	113	139	148
100	8.1	10.0	19.0	149	142	106
101	2.7	3.7	1.8	157	155	161
102	2.3	3.7	2.3	101	155	157
103	10.7	9.2	7.8	144	145	143
104	8.7	11.1	8.5	147	138	142
105	21.1	24.1	20.6	126	111	96
106	15.4	13.8	13.5	137	136	130
107	17.1	13.5	13.8	134	137	128
108	46.0	43.5	33.6	30	22	16
109	40.9	40.1	31.3	52	42	28
110	34.9	36.7	27.6	82	59	57
111	37.6	38.7	28.1	71	52	54
112	11.4	6.9	9.8	143	148	139
113	38.9	39.3	27.1	65	48	63
114	52.7	50.1	36.1	4	4	7
115	37.6	34.7	23.1	71	69	84
116	39.3	32.1	20.8	63	84	94
117	44.6	40.7	29.6	38	38	42
118	50.0	46.7	31.3	12	9	28
119	47.7	44.7	31.1	22	18	32
120	34.9	34.7	21.1	82	69	92

Table A.3. Factors Seen as Helping in Failure Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
121	22.8	20.6	14.8	120	116	123
122	4.0	3.2	2.8	156	157	154
123	21.1	17.5	11.5	126	125	135
124	9.1	6.3	3.8	146	149	149
125	26.2	25.8	18.3	109	107	111
126	40.6	37.5	29.6	54	57	42
127	38.6	31.8	21.3	66	86	90
128	42.6	37.8	26.6	44	55	69
129	30.9	27.5	20.3	101	101	99
130	4.0	4.0	4.3	155	153	147
131	7.4	6.0	5.0	150	150	146
132	27.2	20.1	16.8	108	118	114
133	22.1	16.3	14.3	124	127	127
134	37.9	34.4	21.3	70	71	90
135	36.9	33.8	29.6	74	75	42
136	48.0	49.9	35.8	20	5	9
137	45.3	42.7	31.8	32	27	27
138	44.6	39.8	25.1	38	44	77
139	45.3	33.2	20.3	32	79	99
140	5.7	4.6	2.0	152	152	159
141	31.2	27.2	20.6	99	102	96
142	48.7	44.4	30.3	17	20	39
143	42.3	40.4	30.6	48	39	37
144	46.3	39.3	29.3	28	48	45
145	47.3	46.7	31.1	24	9	32
146	41.6	40.1	29.8	50	42	41
147	33.9	33.5	23.6	88	77	82
148	53.0	40.4	36.6	2	39	4
149	25.2	14.6	5.8	113	132	144
150	36.2	29.5	21.8	78	93	89

Table A.3. Factors Seen as Helping in Failure Communities, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>PROPORTION IN:</u>			<u>RANK ORDER IN:</u>		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
151	43.0	35.5	27.6	42	64	57
152	43.0	35.2	20.8	42	65	94
153	50.3	43.5	33.1	10	22	17
154	44.3	36.7	25.3	40	59	72
155	52.0	45.0	30.6	6	16	37
156	39.6	34.1	27.1	62	74	63
157	40.6	33.8	25.3	54	75	72
158	45.0	38.4	26.3	35	53	71
159	1.7	4.9	3.3	162	151	151
160	2.3	4.0	3.5	160	153	150
161	2.7	3.2	2.0	158	157	159
162	28.5	24.6	19.8	105	109	102

Table A.4. Factors Seen as Hurting in Success Communities by Size of District:
Proportion of Observers Noting Factor and Rank Order of Proportion.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
1	3.4	3.4	6.0	90	100	75
2	1.3	3.2	2.5	130	107	126
3	6.0	6.6	8.3	46	58	52
4	3.7	3.4	5.8	84	100	78
5	3.0	2.6	5.3	100	117	83
6	11.1	11.7	14.8	18	14	18
7	8.7	8.0	7.8	27	46	57
8	5.0	4.6	6.8	60	79	68
9	1.0	1.7	4.0	134	136	101
10	11.1	10.3	16.3	18	29	14
11	2.7	3.4	7.5	104	100	60
12	2.3	2.3	7.3	111	124	66
13	2.3	4.6	4.8	111	79	92
14	4.7	4.0	5.3	69	89	83
15	.7	2.6	2.3	142	117	133
16	2.0	3.2	5.3	119	107	83
17	2.0	2.6	4.5	119	117	93
18	5.4	3.7	5.0	56	94	89
19	3.4	1.4	2.8	90	141	124
20	6.0	11.2	10.5	46	20	38
21	2.7	2.9	5.0	104	113	89
22	.3	.9	1.0	149	149	156
23	---	.3	1.0	159	161	156
24	8.1	8.9	10.0	29	33	41
25	1.0	.3	1.5	134	161	147
26	1.0	2.0	1.0	134	129	156
27	2.3	1.4	1.8	111	141	143
28	1.0	1.4	2.3	134	141	133
29	24.5	22.6	33.6	1	2	1
30	5.7	5.7	7.5	52	69	60

Table A.4. Factors Seen as Hurting in Success Communities, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>PROPORTION IN:</u>			<u>RANK ORDER IN:</u>		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
31	5.4	3.7	3.3	56	94	118
32	6.4	6.9	6.8	39	55	68
33	5.7	7.4	5.5	52	50	81
34	4.7	6.3	5.3	69	61	83
35	6.7	7.4	9.3	36	50	46
36	.3	2.0	4.0	149	129	101
37	1.3	4.3	2.0	130	86	137
38	10.1	8.9	13.8	21	33	22
39	12.1	8.3	10.8	13	40	33
40	6.4	8.6	11.3	39	37	31
41	9.1	11.5	17.3	25	18	11
42	3.4	3.7	3.5	90	94	113
43	2.7	2.6	2.5	104	117	126
44	3.4	2.6	4.0	90	117	101
45	3.7	3.2	2.0	84	107	137
46	2.7	2.9	4.5	104	113	93
47	5.0	4.6	2.5	60	79	126
48	4.0	19.8	2.3	80	3	133
49	13.4	10.9	14.0	10	23	21
50	3.7	5.4	6.8	84	74	68
51	3.7	4.9	6.0	84	78	75
52	4.0	3.4	3.8	80	100	109
53	5.0	5.7	5.5	60	69	81
54	4.0	6.0	3.0	80	65	120
55	2.3	2.6	1.5	111	117	147
56	2.3	3.2	3.8	111	107	109
57	6.0	6.9	5.8	46	55	78
58	4.4	5.7	10.8	74	69	33
59	5.0	10.6	18.3	60	25	8
60	9.7	14.9	15.5	24	10	15

Table A.4. Factors Seen as Hurting in Success Communities, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>PROPORTION IN:</u>			<u>RANK ORDER IN:</u>		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
61	6.4	8.6	13.0	39	37	25
62	4.4	5.4	4.3	74	74	96
63	5.7	10.6	6.8	52	25	68
64	5.4	6.9	7.8	56	55	57
65	6.0	6.3	6.8	46	61	68
66	7.7	7.7	8.3	33	48	52
67	3.4	9.2	7.8	90	32	57
68	6.4	8.3	9.0	39	40	47
69	6.0	8.9	11.8	46	33	29
70	6.7	7.4	7.0	36	50	67
71	6.4	8.3	8.8	39	40	49
72	6.7	7.4	10.0	36	50	41
73	6.4	8.9	14.8	39	33	18
74	7.4	8.6	12.5	34	37	28
75	4.7	5.4	10.8	69	74	33
76	3.4	6.0	10.8	90	65	33
77	10.1	11.7	11.3	21	14	31
78	3.7	6.3	9.0	84	61	47
79	6.0	13.2	18.0	46	12	9
80	7.4	6.3	11.8	34	61	29
81	12.8	5.7	8.3	11	69	52
82	15.4	10.9	10.3	7	23	39
83	8.1	10.3	15.3	29	29	16
84	10.4	8.3	13.5	20	40	24
85	1.7	1.7	3.0	124	136	120
86	1.0	2.3	5.3	134	124	83
87	4.4	7.1	4.5	74	54	93
88	3.7	6.6	7.5	84	58	60
89	1.7	2.3	4.0	124	124	101
90	5.0	3.4	2.5	60	100	126

Table A.4. Factors Seen as Hurting in Success Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
91	4.0	7.7	8.8	80	48	49
92	17.4	16.9	14.5	4	7	20
93	8.1	8.3	10.0	29	40	41
94	3.4	2.9	3.8	90	113	109
95	4.7	.9	1.3	69	149	153
96	.7	1.1	1.0	142	146	156
97	5.0	4.6	6.5	60	79	73
98	8.7	5.7	5.3	27	69	83
99	5.0	3.4	4.0	60	100	101
100	1.7	1.1	5.0	124	146	89
101	12.8	11.7	13.0	11	14	25
102	18.5	23.2	29.1	3	1	2
103	23.8	19.8	19.5	2	3	5
104	4.7	6.0	10.3	69	65	39
105	9.1	14.3	10.8	25	86	33
106	16.1	18.9	28.3	5	5	3
107	8.1	11.2	16.5	29	20	13
108	1.3	4.6	5.8	130	79	78
109	2.3	3.7	4.3	111	94	96
110	5.4	10.6	13.8	56	25	22
111	4.4	8.0	9.8	74	46	44
112	14.8	17.5	25.1	8	6	4
113	.3	2.0	4.3	149	129	96
114	.7	.9	1.3	142	149	153
115	.3	.6	1.3	149	154	153
116	---	.6	.3	159	154	162
117	5.0	5.4	3.0	60	74	120
118	3.0	2.0	2.5	100	129	126
119	2.7	4.3	3.5	104	86	118
120	2.3	2.3	3.5	111	124	113

Table A.4. Factors Seen as Hurting in Success Communities, continued.

FACTOR	PROPORTION IN:			RANK ORDER IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District	Large District	Medium District	Small District
121	2.3	2.9	3.5	111	113	113
122	12.1	11.5	15.3	13	18	16
123	10.1	8.3	12.8	21	40	27
124	6.4	6.0	8.0	39	65	55
125	1.7	4.3	3.5	124	86	113
126	3.4	6.6	6.0	90	58	75
127	2.0	2.0	4.0	119	129	101
128	2.0	4.0	4.3	119	89	96
129	3.0	3.7	6.5	100	94	73
130	11.7	12.9	19.3	17	13	6
131	12.1	16.9	19.3	13	7	6
132	5.0	10.3	8.5	60	29	51
133	4.4	11.1	9.8	74	20	44
134	.7	2.0	2.8	142	129	124
135	---	.9	.5	159	149	161
136	2.0	1.4	1.5	119	141	147
137	.3	1.4	1.8	149	141	143
138	---	.6	1.5	159	154	147
139	1.0	.9	1.5	134	149	147
140	3.4	4.6	7.5	90	79	60
141	.3	.6	1.0	149	154	156
142	1.0	1.1	2.0	134	146	137
143	2.7	4.6	4.0	104	79	101
144	3.0	3.7	4.0	100	94	101
145	1.7	1.7	2.3	124	136	133
146	.7	1.7	2.5	142	136	126
147	.3	3.2	2.0	149	107	137
148	.3	.6	2.0	149	154	137
149	2.7	3.4	2.5	104	100	126
150	5.7	4.0	8.0	52	89	55

Table A.4. Factors Seen as Hurting in Success Communities, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>PROPORTION IN:</u>			<u>RANK ORDER IN:</u>		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
151	4.4	4.0	7.5	74	89	60
152	3.4	4.0	7.5	90	89	60
153	.3	.6	1.8	149	154	143
154	.3	.6	1.8	149	154	143
155	1.7	1.7	2.0	124	136	137
156	1.0	2.6	3.8	134	117	109
157	1.3	2.3	4.3	130	124	96
158	.7	2.0	3.0	142	129	120
159	12.1	10.6	1.5	13	25	147
160	15.8	14.0	17.3	6	11	11
161	13.8	15.2	17.8	9	9	10
162	.7	3.2	3.3	142	107	118

Table A.5. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by District Size: Rank Orders. (Calculated from Table A.7.)

<u>FACTOR</u>	RANK ORDER IN:		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
1	124	114	28
2	104	114	28
3	143	114	65
4	135	120	73
5	112	82	65
6	96	90	108
7	90	120	40
8	135	136	51
9	117	120	4
10	76	148	132
11	124	114	65
12	117	82	97
13	124	148	19
14	117	82	40
15	124	153	5
16	154	76	73
17	150	131	114
18	68	136	51
19	109	47	28
20	31	136	119
21	27	120	85
22	143	144	19
23	124	107	28
24	32	22	108
25	135	107	40
26	112	148	28
27	150	107	10
28	68	131	28
29	25	20	159
30	150	99	28

Table A.5. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>RANK ORDER IN:</u>		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
31	150	90	85
32	84	131	28
33	76	120	5
34	84	120	51
35	27	15	124
36	96	90	40
37	44	90	5
38	40	11	155
39	8	15	119
40	35	65	101
41	60	120	143
42	35	65	144
43	117	82	73
44	66	76	85
45	112	99	56
46	124	136	65
47	84	136	114
48	76	49	85
49	99	39	97
50	44	49	73
51	35	55	19
52	84	65	129
53	44	41	19
54	76	82	3
55	84	55	28
56	68	49	40
57	68	37	40
58	68	32	95
59	38	39	132
60	9	12	132

Table A.5. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>RANK ORDER IN:</u>		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
61	60	49	65
62	90	65	10
63	40	82	28
64	56	65	73
65	90	65	114
66	51	41	85
67	84	153	137
68	60	55	97
69	44	114	124
70	99	131	65
71	60	76	85
72	60	60	108
73	40	36	119
74	23	26	97
75	27	24	132
76	51	41	147
77	32	65	144
78	51	82	19
79	104	90	124
80	27	15	73
81	38	22	147
82	40	15	73
83	76	99	73
84	68	12	95
85	154	76	10
86	90	65	56
87	24	32	2
88	14	27	65
89	104	28	114
90	25	136	1

Table A.5. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>RANK ORDER IN:</u>		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
91	17	47	85
92	16	24	132
93	66	41	137
94	68	76	108
95	117	60	51
96	135	90	65
97	90	32	85
98	109	28	10
99	124	144	101
100	76	8	19
101	4	5	51
102	6	15	151
103	21	12	101
104	11	31	137
105	11	37	56
106	6	1	101
107	10	9	101
108	76	99	56
109	56	49	19
110	19	55	85
111	44	107	56
112	14	4	129
113	143	2	151
114	143	99	56
115	157	148	101
116	104	60	10
117	99	65	56
118	135	120	56
119	109	114	73
120	50	99	137

Table A.5. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>RANK ORDER IN:</u>		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
121	44	99	73
122	21	28	162
123	51	41	161
124	32	41	160
125	19	55	5
126	56	60	28
127	135	159	137
128	99	120	119
129	60	60	108
130	18	20	157
131	5	9	129
132	112	65	119
133	56	65	108
134	68	76	40
135	143	90	5
136	99	136	10
137	104	120	19
138	112	144	40
139	117	90	40
140	13	32	151
141	76	54	10
142	117	90	56
143	96	107	85
144	124	107	73
145	143	157	28
146	124	136	40
147	90	144	10
148	124	131	19
149	124	153	10
150	162	157	157

Table A.5. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	RANK ORDER IN:		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
151	161	153	154
152	158	148	147
153	135	82	73
154	135	99	124
155	154	114	101
156	143	160	147
157	160	162	156
158	159	161	142
159	2	7	144
160	3	5	124
161	1	6	114
162	51	120	40

Table A.6. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Informant Type: Rank Orders. (Calculated from Table A.8.)

FACTOR	RANK ORDER BY INFORMANT TYPE:*				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
1	71	84	98	112	112
2	71	98	116	76	99
3	98	65	109	132	139
4	109	125	109	101	17
5	71	98	98	67	136
6	123	90	83	143	55
7	109	77	125	101	55
8	98	65	137	90	152
9	109	90	36	101	55
10	94	154	143	139	29
11	58	149	151	122	77
12	58	118	116	101	151
13	98	130	83	76	131
14	71	125	98	67	77
15	140	140	143	112	104
16	109	125	109	151	86
17	144	151	143	139	154
18	48	98	154	37	157
19	58	77	158	61	49
20	94	90	98	56	77
21	109	149	152	90	112
22	109	118	93	101	104
23	132	135	21	76	77
24	8	21	25	21	162
25	84	118	63	112	94
26	98	140	63	122	55
27	98	90	56	139	49
28	123	65	83	61	69
29	58	25	131	112	55
30	40	118	138	67	123

* Code: S = superintendent; BM = board member; MM = mass media spokesman; SS = school supporter; SC = school critic.

Table A.6. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Informant Type, continued.

FACTOR	RANK ORDER BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
31	84	84	148	50	90
32	26	90	83	84	150
33	36	65	120	56	112
34	71	106	93	61	104
35	26	45	63	37	5
36	84	125	33	56	104
37	48	90	43	34	40
38	140	98	43	13	29
39	2	54	6	13	8
40	14	54	98	95	42
41	48	158	63	154	73
42	123	106	124	31	136
43	109	118	48	67	158
44	71	77	63	43	158
45	58	98	120	132	49
46	98	106	83	112	152
47	84	147	131	112	131
48	71	50	98	43	139
49	24	161	28	37	112
50	84	65	17	61	42
51	40	29	71	31	47
52	36	162	160	24	94
53	140	39	83	18	9
54	109	29	54	41	66
55	48	33	21	112	94
56	98	54	63	18	99
57	71	39	120	61	7
58	26	45	71	76	42
59	71	77	33	48	139
60	18	54	125	8	2

Table A.6. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Informant Type, continued.

FACTOR	RANK ORDER BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
61	58	98	33	31	90
62	58	54	43	56	81
63	26	45	83	67	37
64	48	130	116	29	81
65	84	106	120	143	99
66	9	106	43	50	117
67	144	140	138	122	123
68	40	8	109	143	69
69	58	5	98	122	104
70	84	2	143	84	117
71	58	7	36	101	15
72	40	1	128	84	66
73	40	39	71	37	86
74	22	77	11	27	25
75	18	98	83	29	49
76	58	143	36	76	139
77	71	152	48	101	123
78	26	90	48	43	123
79	147	77	36	76	131
80	22	21	8	21	73
81	40	132	6	90	69
82	9	36	10	67	20
83	137	65	2	90	20
84	9	90	56	34	17
85	137	65	71	67	86
86	84	42	98	50	117
87	5	18	48	24	42
88	7	25	36	50	5
89	109	50	71	101	20
90	132	34	71	21	29

Table A.6. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Informant Type, continued.

FACTOR	RANK ORDER BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
91	14	45	131	27	36
92	98	16	63	13	11
93	48	50	154	101	69
94	48	54	71	132	117
95	123	65	93	84	112
96	109	106	71	101	139
97	40	65	25	61	139
98	40	65	14	34	123
99	150	36	159	101	160
100	9	15	14	24	20
101	14	10	3	2	49
102	84	18	14	9	37
103	48	9	25	9	55
104	109	45	128	12	11
105	71	10	43	18	24
106	9	6	11	6	26
107	2	25	71	7	104
108	58	54	71	76	131
109	26	34	28	43	123
110	18	21	83	50	29
111	36	25	54	95	86
112	5	160	21	13	147
113	154	3	157	152	161
114	109	10	109	112	55
115	149	4	152	139	81
116	94	10	56	95	55
117	48	36	56	122	81
118	132	106	83	143	131
119	123	132	1	149	139
120	26	65	98	143	154

Table A.6. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Informant Type, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	RANK ORDER BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
121	36	125	17	122	117
122	147	54	8	155	16
123	153	50	48	129	40
124	154	54	21	95	26
125	18	24	28	43	29
126	26	84	48	48	49
127	150	143	128	161	10
128	137	118	138	152	19
129	109	29	131	149	14
130	98	18	131	41	1
131	26	10	19	5	37
132	158	65	93	67	55
133	123	106	109	56	29
134	48	42	56	122	73
135	26	77	56	84	147
136	71	84	28	101	154
137	84	84	71	76	117
138	123	135	98	84	123
139	98	135	138	67	55
140	24	54	71	9	147
141	58	42	93	50	26
142	123	106	63	95	94
143	94	106	116	129	47
144	123	143	109	95	73
145	98	135	120	132	104
146	109	98	28	129	42
147	58	54	56	132	136
148	71	118	36	132	139
149	150	143	162	13	94
150	162	157	138	155	29

Table A.6. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Informant Type, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	RANK ORDER BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
151	161	155	125	157	81
152	160	135	148	157	55
153	132	106	98	112	66
154	140	106	148	143	123
155	144	132	131	132	104
156	154	152	143	159	90
157	159	155	161	162	90
158	157	158	154	160	99
159	14	84	4	4	3
160	1	29	5	1	11
161	4	147	11	3	4
162	132	17	19	122	99

Table A.7. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Size of District: Correlation Coefficients (McCormick's K).

<u>FACTOR</u>	CORRELATION IN:		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
1	-.14	-.10	.16
2	-.10	-.10	.16
3	-.16	-.10	.12
4	-.15	-.11	.11
5	-.12	-.06	.12
6	-.08	-.07	.06
7	-.07	-.11	.15
8	-.15	-.13	.14
9	-.13	-.11	.20
10	-.05	-.15	.01
11	-.14	-.09	.12
12	-.13	-.06	.08
13	-.14	-.15	.17
14	-.13	-.06	.15
15	-.14	-.16	.19
16	-.19	-.05	.11
17	-.18	-.12	.05
18	-.04	-.13	.14
19	-.11	.01	.16
20	.07	-.13	.04
21	.08	-.11	.10
22	-.16	-.14	.17
23	-.14	-.09	.16
24	.06	.13	.06
25	-.15	-.09	.15
26	-.12	-.15	.16
27	-.18	-.09	.18
28	-.04	-.12	.16
29	.09	.14	-.13
30	-.18	-.08	.16

Table A.7. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Size of District, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	CORRELATION IN:		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
31	-.18	-.07	.10
32	-.06	-.12	.16
33	-.05	-.11	.19
34	-.06	-.11	.14
35	.08	.16	.03
36	-.08	-.07	.15
37	.02	-.07	.19
38	.03	.19	-.10
39	.27	.16	.04
40	.05	-.04	.07
41	-.02	-.11	-.02
42	.05	-.04	-.03
43	-.13	-.06	.11
44	-.03	-.05	.10
45	-.12	-.08	.13
46	-.14	-.13	.12
47	-.06	-.13	.05
48	-.05	.00	.10
49	-.09	.03	.08
50	.02	.00	.11
51	.05	-.02	.17
52	-.06	-.04	.02
53	.02	.02	.17
54	-.05	-.06	.21
55	-.06	-.02	.16
56	-.04	.00	.15
57	-.04	.04	.15
58	-.04	.06	.09
59	.04	.03	.01
60	.22	.18	.01

Table A.7. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Size of District, continued.

FACTOR	CORRELATION IN:		
	Large District	Medium District	Small District
61	-.02	.00	.12
62	-.07	-.04	.18
63	.03	-.06	.16
64	-.01	-.04	.11
65	-.07	-.04	.05
66	.00	.02	.10
67	-.06	-.16	.00
68	-.02	-.02	.08
69	.02	-.10	.03
70	-.09	-.12	.12
71	-.02	-.05	.10
72	-.02	-.03	.06
73	.03	.05	.04
74	.11	.11	.08
75	.08	.12	.01
76	.00	.02	-.04
77	.06	-.04	-.03
78	.00	-.06	.17
79	-.10	-.07	.03
80	.08	.16	.11
81	.04	.13	-.04
82	.03	.16	.11
83	-.05	-.08	.11
84	-.04	.18	.09
85	-.19	-.05	.18
86	-.07	-.04	.13
87	.10	.06	.24
88	.17	.09	.12
89	-.10	.08	.05
90	.09	-.13	.25

Table A.7. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Size of District, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	CORRELATION IN:		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
91	.15	.01	.10
92	.16	.12	.01
93	-.03	.02	.00
94	-.04	-.05	.06
95	-.13	-.03	.14
96	-.15	-.07	.12
97	-.07	.06	.10
98	-.11	.08	.13
99	-.14	-.14	.07
100	-.05	.21	.17
101	.34	.24	.14
102	.30	.16	-.06
103	.12	.18	.07
104	.20	.07	.00
105	.20	.04	.13
106	.30	.28	.07
107	.21	.20	.07
108	-.05	-.08	.13
109	-.01	.00	.17
110	.13	-.02	.10
111	.02	-.09	.13
112	.17	.25	.02
113	-.16	.27	-.06
114	-.16	-.08	.13
115	-.20	-.15	.07
116	-.10	-.03	.13
117	-.09	-.04	.13
118	-.15	-.11	.13
119	-.11	-.10	.11
120	.01	-.08	.00

Table A.7. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Size of District, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	CORRELATION IN:		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
121	.02	-.08	.11
122	.12	.08	-.23
123	.00	.02	-.16
124	.06	.02	-.15
125	.13	-.02	.19
126	-.01	-.03	.16
127	-.15	-.18	.00
128	-.09	-.11	.04
129	-.02	-.03	.06
130	.14	.14	-.12
131	.32	.20	.02
132	-.12	-.04	.04
133	-.01	-.04	.06
134	-.04	-.05	.15
135	-.16	-.07	.19
136	-.09	-.13	.18
137	-.10	-.11	.17
138	-.12	-.14	.15
139	-.13	-.07	.15
140	.19	.06	-.06
141	-.05	-.01	.18
142	-.13	-.07	.13
143	-.08	-.09	.10
144	-.14	-.09	.11
145	-.16	-.17	.16
146	-.14	-.13	.15
147	-.07	-.14	.18
148	-.14	-.12	.17
149	-.14	-.16	.18
150	-.31	-.17	-.12

Table A.7. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Size of District, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	CORRELATION IN:		
	<u>Large District</u>	<u>Medium District</u>	<u>Small District</u>
151	-.25	-.16	-.09
152	-.21	-.15	-.04
153	-.15	-.06	.11
154	-.15	-.08	.03
155	-.19	-.10	.07
156	-.16	-.24	-.04
157	-.23	-.29	-.11
158	-.22	-.28	-.01
159	.38	.22	-.03
160	.37	.26	.03
161	.41	.23	.05
162	.00	-.11	.15

Table A.8. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Type of Informant: Correlation Coefficients (McCormick's K).

FACTOR	CORRELATION BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
1	.04	-.03	-.03	-.01	-.11
2	.04	-.05	-.05	.04	-.09
3	.01	-.01	-.04	-.04	-.17
4	.00	-.08	-.04	.00	.15
5	.04	-.05	-.03	.05	-.16
6	-.01	-.04	-.01	-.06	.00
7	.00	-.02	-.08	.00	.00
8	.01	-.01	-.11	.02	-.22
9	.00	-.04	.06	.00	.00
10	.02	-.20	-.13	-.05	.08
11	.05	-.15	-.15	.02	-.04
12	.05	-.07	-.05	.00	-.21
13	.01	-.09	-.01	.04	-.14
14	.04	-.08	-.03	.05	-.04
15	-.04	-.12	-.13	-.01	-.10
16	.00	-.08	-.04	-.08	-.06
17	-.05	-.16	-.13	-.05	-.23
18	.06	-.05	-.17	.12	-.26
19	.05	-.02	-.20	.06	.02
20	.02	-.04	-.03	.07	-.04
21	.00	-.15	-.16	.02	-.11
22	.00	-.07	-.02	.00	-.10
23	-.02	-.11	.10	.04	-.04
24	.15	.11	.09	.18	-.32
25	.03	-.07	.01	-.01	-.08
26	.01	-.12	.01	-.02	.00
27	.01	-.04	.02	-.05	.02
28	-.01	-.01	-.01	.06	-.02
29	.05	.09	-.10	-.01	.00
30	.07	-.07	-.12	.05	-.13

Table A.8. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Type of Informant, continued.

FACTOR	CORRELATION BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
31	.03	-.03	-.14	.08	-.07
32	.09	-.04	-.01	.03	-.20
33	.08	-.01	-.06	.07	-.11
34	.04	-.06	-.02	.06	-.10
35	.09	.02	.01	.12	.28
36	.03	-.08	.07	.07	-.10
37	.06	-.04	.05	.13	.05
38	-.04	-.05	.05	.20	.08
39	.21	.00	.18	.20	.23
40	.13	.00	-.03	.01	.04
41	.06	-.23	.01	-.11	-.03
42	-.01	-.06	-.07	.14	-.16
43	.00	-.07	.04	.05	-.28
44	.04	-.02	.01	.10	-.28
45	.05	-.05	-.06	-.04	.02
46	.01	-.06	-.01	-.01	-.22
47	.03	-.14	-.10	-.01	-.14
48	.04	.01	-.03	.10	-.17
49	.10	-.28	.08	.12	-.11
50	.03	-.01	.12	.06	.04
51	.07	.08	.00	.14	.03
52	.08	-.33	-.25	.17	-.08
53	-.04	.04	-.01	.19	.22
54	.00	.08	.03	.11	-.01
55	.06	.07	.10	-.01	-.08
56	.01	.00	.01	.19	-.09
57	.04	.04	-.06	.06	.24
58	.09	.02	.00	.04	.04
59	.04	-.02	.07	.09	-.17
60	.12	.00	-.08	.24	.38

Table A.8. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Type of Informant, continued.

FACTOR	CORRELATION BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
61	.05	-.05	.07	.14	-.07
62	.05	.00	.05	.07	-.05
63	.09	.02	-.01	.05	.06
64	.06	-.09	-.05	.15	-.05
65	.03	-.06	.06	-.06	-.09
66	.14	-.06	.05	.08	-.12
67	-.05	-.12	-.12	-.02	-.13
68	.07	.25	-.04	-.06	-.02
69	.05	.30	-.03	-.02	-.10
70	.03	.38	-.13	.03	-.12
71	.05	.28	.06	.00	.17
72	.07	.41	-.09	.03	-.01
73	.07	.04	.00	.12	-.06
74	.11	-.02	.15	.16	.10
75	.12	-.05	-.01	.15	.02
76	.05	-.13	.06	.04	-.17
77	.04	-.17	.04	.00	-.13
78	.09	-.04	.04	.10	-.13
79	-.06	-.02	.06	.04	-.14
80	.11	.11	.17	.18	-.03
81	.07	-.10	.18	.02	-.02
82	.14	.05	.16	.05	.12
83	-.03	-.01	.68	.02	.12
84	.14	-.04	.02	.13	.15
85	-.03	-.01	.00	.05	-.06
86	.03	.03	-.03	.08	-.12
87	.17	.12	.04	.17	.04
88	.16	.09	.06	.08	.28
89	.00	.01	.00	.00	.12
90	-.02	.06	.00	.18	.08

Table A.8. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Type of Informant, continued.

FACTOR	CORRELATION BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
91	.13	.02	-.10	.16	.07
92	.01	.17	.01	.20	.20
93	.06	.01	-.17	.00	-.02
94	.06	.00	.00	-.04	-.12
95	-.01	-.01	-.02	.03	-.11
96	.00	-.06	.00	.00	-.17
97	.07	-.01	.09	.06	-.17
98	.07	-.01	.13	.13	-.13
99	-.09	.05	-.22	.00	-.29
100	.14	.18	.13	.17	.12
101	.13	.21	.42	.40	.02
102	.03	.12	.13	.23	.06
103	.06	.22	.09	.23	.00
104	.00	.02	-.09	.21	.20
105	.04	.21	.05	.19	.11
106	.14	.29	.15	.32	.09
107	.21	.09	.00	.31	-.10
108	.05	.00	.00	.04	-.14
109	.09	.06	.08	.10	-.13
110	.12	.11	-.01	.08	.08
111	.08	.09	.03	.01	-.06
112	.17	-.25	.10	.20	-.18
113	-.12	.37	-.18	-.10	-.31
114	.00	.21	-.04	-.01	.00
115	-.08	.31	-.16	-.05	-.05
116	.02	.21	.02	.01	.00
117	.06	.05	.02	-.02	-.05
118	-.02	-.06	-.01	-.06	-.14
119	-.01	-.10	.90	-.07	-.17
120	.09	-.01	-.03	-.06	-.23

Table A.8. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Type of Informant, continued.

FACTOR	CORRELATION BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
121	.08	-.08	.12	-.02	-.12
122	-.06	.00	.17	-.12	.16
123	-.10	.01	.04	-.03	.05
124	-.12	.00	.10	.01	.09
125	.12	.10	.08	.10	.08
126	.09	-.03	.04	.09	.02
127	-.09	-.13	-.09	-.31	.21
128	-.03	-.07	-.12	-.10	.13
129	.00	.08	-.10	-.07	.19
130	.01	.12	-.10	.11	.87
131	.09	.21	.11	.36	.06
132	-.14	-.01	-.02	.05	.00
133	-.01	-.06	-.04	.07	.08
134	.06	.03	.02	-.02	-.03
135	.09	-.02	.02	.03	-.18
136	.04	-.03	.08	.00	-.23
137	.03	-.03	.00	.04	-.12
138	-.01	-.11	-.03	.03	-.13
139	.01	-.11	-.12	.05	.00
140	.10	.00	.00	.23	-.18
141	.05	.03	-.02	.08	.09
142	-.01	-.06	.01	.01	-.08
143	.02	-.06	-.05	-.03	.03
144	-.01	-.13	-.04	.01	-.03
145	.01	-.11	-.06	-.04	-.10
146	.00	-.05	.08	-.03	.04
147	.05	.00	.02	-.04	-.16
148	.04	-.07	.06	-.04	-.17
149	-.09	-.13	-.33	.20	-.08
150	-.35	-.22	-.12	-.12	.08

Table A. 8. Perceived Effect of Factors Related to Continuous Success in Financial Elections, by Type of Informant, continued.

<u>FACTOR</u>	CORRELATION BY INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>S</u>	<u>BM</u>	<u>MM</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>SC</u>
151	-.22	-.21	-.08	-.15	-.05
152	-.18	-.11	-.14	-.15	.00
153	-.02	-.06	-.03	-.01	-.01
154	-.04	-.06	-.14	-.06	-.13
155	-.05	-.10	-.10	-.04	-.10
156	-.12	-.17	-.13	-.18	-.07
157	-.15	-.21	-.28	-.32	-.07
158	-.13	-.23	-.17	-.19	-.09
159	.13	-.03	.21	.37	.32
160	.88	.08	.20	.41	.20
161	.20	-.14	.15	.39	.31
162	-.02	.13	.11	-.02	-.09

APPENDIX B

SAMPLES

Three samples were drawn during the course of this project, the first a purposive sample of school districts in the nation designed to provide a sufficient number of successful and unsuccessful school-community relationships in different areas of the country, the second a strict, disproportionate, stratified (by size of district) probability sample of school districts in the nation, and the third a subsample of the second, stratified on the success of the local school-community relationship. Each of these is discussed further in these next sections.

* * * * *

Sample A

In selecting communities with diverse histories of school-community relations, we relied initially on the financial support pattern to characterize communities. This pattern not only reflects our original concern but it also constitutes the most readily recognized symptom of the quality of the relationship which exists between school and community. In identifying such communities, we had the assistance of Dr. Finis Engleman, executive secretary of the American Association of School Administrators.

At our request Dr. Engleman contacted the chief state school officers in 30 states and requested the names of communities in their states which had "interesting" histories of support and non-support for school bond issues and tax levies. The replies to this preliminary inquiry brought us a total of 164 communities.

We supplemented this list by sampling from the directory of the 1957 yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators. This procedure brought our total to 531 school districts. Each of the superintendents in these communities was sent a questionnaire requesting information about the characteristics of financial support in their district. Eighty-six percent of the superintendents responded. From these, we made a final selection of districts to be included in the preliminary phase of our study.

As indicated above, we recognized that in addition to financial support patterns, other attributes should be sufficiently distributed in our final sample. These attributes were categorized in terms of the following selection criteria:

1. Regional-cultural, e.g., Deep South, New England, Western. Communities were selected to provide for geographical representation of the nine census areas of the United States.

2. Economic, e.g., expenditure per pupil as measured by perceived quartile rank within the respective state. Communities were selected to provide for distribution among wealthy, poor, and average communities.

3. Community Structure, e.g., size of population, degree of urbanization, and degree of industrialization. Communities were selected to provide for an extensive range.

4. District Organization, e.g., elementary, high school, unified. Communities were selected to provide for distribution among various types of school district organization.

5. Financial-Support Pattern. Communities were selected to provide for distribution among five distinguishable patterns of school financial support: continuous support, continuous non-support, continuous support followed by non-support, continuous non-support followed by support, and support interspersed with non-support.

Table B.1. indicates that the final selection of 71 communities represented an extensive range of the attributes described above, affording opportunity to study school-community relationships in a wide variety of communities.

Table B.1. Characteristics of the Communities in which 71 Preliminary Studies Were Conducted.

<u>TYPE OF DISTRICT</u>	<u>PROPORTION IN SAMPLE</u>
Unified	57.7%
Elementary	22.5
High School	2.7
County Unit	14.1
Joint High School -- Elementary District (Two boards, but single administration)	<u>2.7</u> 99.7%
<u>ENROLLMENT</u>	
Over 10,000	25.7%
5000-10,000	34.8
1000-5000	31.8
Under 1000	<u>7.5</u> 99.8%
<u>TYPE OF COMMUNITY</u>	
Rural	21.4%
Rural-suburban	10.0
Rural-urban	4.2
Suburban	28.5
Suburban-urban	2.8
Urban	<u>32.8</u> 99.7%

Table B.1. Characteristics of the Communities in which 71 Preliminary Studies Were Conducted, continued.

<u>COMMUNITY POPULATION</u>	<u>PROPORTION IN SAMPLE</u>
Over 50,000	27.2%
25,000-50,000	27.2
5,000-25,000	36.3
Under 5,000	<u>9.1</u> 99.8%
<u>ECONOMY OF COMMUNITY</u>	
Single base (e.g., farming)	60.9%
Double base (e.g., farming and manufacturing)	30.4
Diversified base	<u>8.7</u> 100.0%
<u>EXPENDITURE PER ADA</u> (By quartile)	
1. (Lowest)	8.8%
2.	29.4
3.	35.3
4. (Highest)	<u>26.4</u> 99.9%

Table B.1. Characteristics of the Communities in which 71 Preliminary Studies Were Conducted, continued.

<u>HISTORY OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT</u>	<u>PROPORTION IN SAMPLE</u>
Continuous Support	42.8%
Failure then recent support	8.5
Support then recent failure	15.7
Continuous failure	5.7
Mixed (no discernible trend)	<u>27.1</u> 99.8%
 <u>GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION</u>	
Census Area 1 (New England)	4.2%
Census Area 2 (Middle Atlantic)	4.2
Census Area 3 (Southeast)	4.2
Census Area 4 (East-North Central)	5.6
Census Area 5 (East-South Central)	5.6
Census Area 6 (West-North Central)	4.2
Census Area 7 (West-South Central)	7.0
Census Area 8 (Rocky Mountain)	15.5
Census Area 9 (Pacific Coast)	<u>49.3</u> 99.8%

Within each community, we faced the task of securing information about historically significant interaction between the school and the community. This information, we believed, could best come from people within each community

who were well informed about specific incidents of interaction. Realizing that we could not identify the best qualified informants without going into the community, we devised a procedure which would enable the investigator to select qualified informants on the spot.

For each community visited, the investigator was instructed to contact the district superintendent, a board member recommended by the superintendent, and the publisher of the local newspaper having the largest circulation within the district. Certainly these three individuals, because of their unique positions within the community, may be assumed to be well qualified to report on the interaction of school and community. Furthermore, because of their influence on the school-community relationship, we wanted to compare their respective perceptions of factors reported operative in the situation.

From each of these persons, the investigator then obtained the names of additional individuals in the community who were considered to be well informed. He selected two or three other informants from these names suggested to him. Typically these included PTA leaders, civic officials or leaders, and members of taxpayers' organizations. A spokesman for the last group was selected so that we could compare the perceptions of the "opposition" with those of superintendents, board members, and mass media representatives.

The investigator was instructed to contact a minimum of five informants in each community. However, he was also instructed to contact additional informants if the need arose. If the investigator discovered the existence of several competing

factions or conflicting points of view, he selected informants who could provide him with pertinent data. In some cases, the number of informants ran as high as ten.

* * * * *

Sample B

A disproportionate probability sample of 1054 school districts, stratified on the basis of student enrollment, provided the source for our final data.

The sample was drawn by the United States Bureau of the Census from the school districts of the nation. The lists were stratified by size of district. A small district was defined as having an enrollment of from 150 to 2,999, a medium district from 3,000 to 11,999, and a large district, 12,000 or more. Districts of less than 150 enrollment were not considered. These extremely small districts, although very numerous (there were 27,947 in 1957), represent only three percent of the national enrollment. The population of school districts from which the sample was drawn contained 97 percent of all children enrolled in public schools in 1957.

All of the 281 large districts were included in the sample. The medium districts were drawn at a ratio of 1:5, the small districts at a ratio of 1:33. The selected sample is reported in Table B.2.

Table B.2. Stratified, Disproportionate Sample of School Districts in the United States (as of 1957).

<u>SIZE OF DISTRICT</u>	<u>PERCENT OF ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOL DISTRICTS</u>	<u>NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS</u>	<u>SAMPLE: RATIO DRAWN NUMBER</u>	
Large: 12,000 or more	33	281	1:1	281
Medium: 3,000 to 11,999	30	1,722	1:5	343
Small: 150 to 2999	$\frac{34}{97}$	$\frac{14,204}{16,207}$	1:33	$\frac{430}{1054}$

* * * * *

Sample C

A four-page questionnaire was mailed to the superintendent of each district in Sample B, requesting information on legal provisions, election turnout, and the financial history of the district over the eleven years from 1948-49 to 1958-59 (Appendix D). In addition, the superintendent was asked to provide the names and addresses of five key people in the school-community relationship. Replies were received from 869 districts, approximately 82% of the sample. Districts which had rejected one of the last four school bond or tax elections were classified as failure districts; successful school districts were those which had approved the last four elections. To secure relatively equal numbers of success and failure

communities, all failure communities identified and every third success community identified were included in Sample C. Factor Evaluation Inventories were sent to 1814 informants in 389 school districts. Inventories were returned by 1046 informants or 57.7 percent of the informants identified. Table B.3 reports the distribution of responses by district size, Table B.4 by informant type.

Table B.3. Proportion of Inventories Returned by Size of District and Type of Relationship.

<u>RELATIONSHIP</u>	SIZE OF DISTRICT:		
	<u>Large</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>
Success	51.9% (125)	56.5% (152)	58.3% (232)
Failure	60.0% (174)	59.0% (196)	58.8% (167)

Table B.4. Proportion of Inventories Returned by Informant Type and Type of Relationship.

<u>RELATIONSHIP</u>	INFORMANT TYPE:				
	<u>Superin- tendent</u>	<u>Board Member</u>	<u>Mass Media</u>	<u>School Supporter</u>	<u>School Critic</u>
Success	77.1% (162)	41.2% (89)	45.3% (87)	65.8% (121)	47.2% (50)
Failure	77.1% (155)	53.0% (106)	45.4% (85)	68.7% (125)	48.5% (66)

A basic part of the mailed questionnaire applicable to legal provisions (Chapter Four) and voter turnout (Chapter Five) is the history of financial support over the past eleven years (1948-49 to 1958-59) reported by the superintendent within each district. For each district, the respondent was also asked about the purpose of the election, the amount of the issue, number of votes for and against the proposal, and the number of eligible voters.

Of the 869 questionnaires received, 660 indicated that financial elections had been held (Table B.5). Of these, only 167 gave complete information as to the number of eligible voters. This necessitated a special follow-up. Supplementary questionnaires were sent to election clerks. This effort was handicapped by a lack of addresses. Nevertheless 193 of the 421 sent out were returned with the desired information. The most productive effort was the sending of 300 letters to the superintendents of schools asking them to obtain from the city clerk, county clerk, or registrar of voters, the number of eligible voters for the specific elections in question. The response from the superintendents was excellent: 283 of 300 replied.

In spite of the excellent cooperation of school administrators and election officials it was not possible to obtain figures for the number of eligible voters in every case (Table B.6). The reasons for this are varied: many of the smaller counties and cities do not have adequate facilities or personnel for the proper keeping of records; in a few cases the records had been destroyed by fire; in Montana the law allows the destruction of voting records every two years; in some cases complete records for bond elections were kept only when the issues passed and the records were needed to facilitate the sale of the bonds. Frequently the lack of records was not explained.

Another important group of respondents were those which reported that no elections had been held. There were 181 of these. One hundred and seventeen were fiscally dependent districts and legally could not have financial elections;

the other 64 simply had not needed financial elections during the time period with which we are concerned.

Fifteen districts reported that their financial elections were held in town meetings, by voice vote. Four districts wrote refusals. Ten returned questionnaires so incomplete as to be not codable. Eleven districts no longer exist. There were 185 districts which did not respond. An analysis of non-responding districts, by state, size, and other factors, does not reveal any important response bias by state. The percentage of non-responding districts in both the medium and small categories was approximately twice that of the large district category. Whenever actual figures for the number of registered or eligible voters were not available, clerks were asked to make estimates.

Table B.5. Frequency Distribution of Responses to Followup Procedures Used for Financial Data Questionnaire.

<u>PROCEDURE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF USABLE REPLIES</u>
No follow-up needed, questionnaires complete when received first time	167
Supplementary questionnaires sent to county clerks, city clerks, or registrars of voters	193
Letters to superintendents of schools	283
No procedure successful, follow-up not completed	17
Total (codable questionnaires which record elections)	660

Table B.6. Frequency Distribution of Financial Data Questionnaires By Type and Condition of Data.

<u>TYPE AND CONDITION OF DATA</u>	<u>NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES</u>	
A. Returns, elections held.		
1. Complete.	519	
2. Partial voter eligibility data; one or more eligibility figures missing.	64	
3. No voter eligibility data.	65	
4. Elections held in town meetings.	12	
Total questionnaires codable		(660)
5. Elections held in town meetings.	3	
6. Incomplete data.	10	
B. Returns, no elections held.		
1. Districts fiscally dependent.	117	
2. No elections held 1948-49 to 1958-59.	64	
Total questionnaires returned		(854)
C. Refusals.	4	
D. No questionnaires returned.	185	
Total possible returns		(1043)
E. Districts no longer exist.	11	
TOTAL ORIGINAL SAMPLE		1054

APPENDIX C

INDEX OF MEDIATING AGENCY EFFECTIVENESS

A special problem arose in the construction of an index of mediating agency effectiveness. The simplicity of the index constructed for positive and negative factors was unavailable. There we could merely take the top ten of each whether they occurred in successful or unsuccessful relationships -- because they worked only for success or failure in either instance. But, potentially at least, mediating agencies can work either way. They can spread dissent as well as agreement. We would have stacked the deck had we chosen only those which contributed to success. For in selecting only those which were shown to have contributed to success, we would have examined only the possibility that more helpful mediating agencies mean more success, leaving out the possibility that there might be effective mediating agencies contributing to failure. Thus the selection of six mediating agencies for each district size is here governed by the relationship tabled in A.7, that is, the correlation between the perceived effect of the factor and the situation as it existed in the school-community relationship. For instance, if a mediating agency was perceived to be affecting the relationship negatively in a failure situation, this would get equal weight with a perception of positive influence in a success situation.

The factors selected on this basis for each district size are listed below:

DISTRICT SIZE:		
Large	Medium	Small
Mass media and their executives as mediators between groups in the schools and community.	Mass media and their executives as "watch-dogs" of public servants and public monies.	Study groups or workshops on school problems.
Mass media and their executives as "watch-dogs" of public servants and public monies.	Study groups or workshops on school problems.	Communications from community to school.
Communications from community to school.	Parent-Teacher Assns. and parent clubs.	Student newspapers.
Schools' informational program.	Mass media and their executives as mediators between groups in the schools and community.	Parent-teacher conferences.
Study groups or workshops on school problems.	Bulletins published by the PTA.	Parent-Teacher Assns. and parent clubs.
Student newspapers.	Public meetings sponsored by PTA.	Mass media coverage of school activities.

As noted in Chapter One, the index score is simply the number of these mediating agencies perceived as helping in the local school-community relationship, averaged over the number of observers in the community.

APPENDIX D
QUESTIONNAIRES

Financial Data Questionnaire

Interview Guide

Factor Evaluation Inventory

**(The development of these instruments is
described in the introduction to Chapter Two.)**

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
Stanford, California

School of Education

Institute for Communication Research

... Research Project on Support for Public Education
Dr. William R. Odell, Director

Dear Superintendent:

On behalf of the U.S. Office of Education, we ask your response to the enclosed questionnaire. Your district was one of 1,054 districts drawn in a probability sample by the federal census bureau.

Stanford University has contracted with the U.S. Office of Education to study the financial support of school districts throughout the United States. We have focused upon finding ways to improve the understanding and support of voters for public education.

During this year of the study, we are going to compare the responses to this questionnaire with further information secured from school districts participating in this survey. It is requested that you give this your immediate attention because field schedules for individual communities will be built around your completed questionnaire.

The enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelope is for your convenience and early reply. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,



WILLIAM R. ODELL
Project Director

Community

And

Schools

Together

... A Project of the U.S. Office of Education Cooperative Research Program

FINANCIAL DATA

1. Please list the record of your district's financial elections over the period of years from 1948-49 through 1958-59. Please mark with an asterisk (*) those elections which are repeat elections for the same purpose.

Year	Type of Election Bond/Tax Increase	Amount	Number of Votes FOR	Number of Votes AGAINST	Number of Registered Voters	Pass or Fail
1948-49						
1949-50						
1950-51						
1951-52						
1952-53						
1953-54						
1954-55						
1955-56						
1956-57						
1957-58						
1958-59						

2. What are the proportions of funds from the following sources in this school district?

State Sources	Local Sources	Federal Sources
.....%	%	%

3. Have any other types of elections been held in this district over the last 11 years? (If so, how many?)

.....elections	recall of board members
.....elections	approval to sell school property
.....elections	approval to acquire school sites
.....elections	other
(Specify)	

4. How are school board members selected in this district?

..... by election

..... by appointment;

(If Appointed, What Agency)

5. How are school board members nominated for election or appointment in this district?

..... by self-announcement

..... by petition

..... by party caucus

..... by primary election

..... by annual meeting

..... other:

(Specify)

6. How many school board members are on the school board in this district? (please circle)

3; 5; 6; 7; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15+

7. How many years are prescribed for the school board member's term of office in this district? (please circle)

2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; life

8a. Can the majority of school board membership be changed at any one appointment period or election?

..... Yes

..... No

8b. (If "No") how many years would it take to change the majority of school board membership in this school district?

.....

9. What areas do the school board members in this district represent?

..... district-at-large

..... geographical sections or wards

..... no provisions, but practice is:

.....

10. What kind of school board elections are held in this school district?

..... a. separate school district elections

..... combined elections with city and county

..... b. partisan ballot

..... non-partisan ballot

11. When a vacancy occurs on the school board between regular elections or appointment periods, how are replacement members selected?

..... by calling a special election

..... appointment by county superintendent

..... appointment by remaining members

..... by petition of voters

..... other:

(Specify)

12. What kind of a school district is this?

..... elementary

..... secondary

..... unified (K-12)

..... county

..... other:

(Specify)

13. How is the annual school budget adopted in this district?

..... by school board action

..... by an annual election

..... by another agency:

(If Agency, What Agency)

14. How is a school bond proposal initiated in this district? (please check)

..... by school board action, alone

..... by petition of voters followed by school board action

..... by a state agency

..... by a city government agency

..... by county commissioners

..... other:

(Specify)

There are persons in each school district who are in a position to be informed about the relations between community and schools. It would save us money and time if you would list the names and addresses of selected representatives in your school district to whom we could mail (directly) copies of our questionnaire on school-community relations. (The alternates will be used only if the initial spokesman is unavailable.)

Spokesman

1. Superintendent.

.....
Name
.....
Address
.....

2. Chairman of the School Board.

.....
Name
.....
Address
.....

3. Publisher or spokesman for the newspaper or other mass medium which is most active in the school district.

.....
Name
.....
Address
.....

4. Spokesman for a lay committee, PTA, etc., who has worked actively within the school district.

.....
Name
.....
Address
.....

5. Spokesman for an organization actively critical of public schools in this district; e.g., taxpayers' association, curriculum revision, etc.

.....
Name
.....
Address
.....

Alternate

1a. A spokesman for the superintendent in the central office.

.....
Name
.....
Address
.....

2a. Senior board member (other than president).

.....
Name
.....
Address
.....

3a. Another spokesman for a mass medium which is also active in the school district.

.....
Name
.....
Address
.....

4a. Another spokesman for a lay committee, PTA, etc., who has worked actively within the school district.

.....
Name
.....
Address
.....

5a. Another spokesman for an organized or unorganized group which is actively critical of the public schools in this district.

.....
Name
.....
Address
.....

Interview Guide: Instructions

1. Numbers preceding the questions should be noted on the reporting sheet, to facilitate coding of the interviews.
2. The interview schedule should be used only following a statement to the informant that he should consider the questions -- and his answers -- in the context of school-community relations.
3. The interviewer should make it clear to the informant that he will probe continuously, and that this is necessary to provide comparable information from community to community and from informant to informant.

* * * * *

The questions below are to be asked of each informant. Following each question are a number of points on which information is necessary. If the informant does not offer such information, then you must probe for details specified.

The interviewer is expected to seek clarity, depth, completeness, and specificity in his work. The "probing areas" are a guide but not a substitute for unbiased, full interviewing procedures.

- 1.1 How do you picture the local school administrators as school leaders?
- 1.2 What are the professional qualifications of the local school district administrators?

Ascertain

education and training
associational memberships
experience
demonstrated ability as administrator

- 1.3 What are the personal qualifications of the local school district administrators?

Ascertain

appearance
social behavior

- 1.4 What seem to be the major goals, educational values, and hopes of the local school district administrators?

Ascertain

educational plant
educational program
educational personnel
educational philosophy

- 1.5 What influences or pressures do the local school district administrators face?

Ascertain

their reaction
their reaction to any change

- 2.1 What seems to be the relationship between the local school district administrators and the students?

Ascertain

degree of contact ("how much")
form of contact ("how")

- 2.2 Is there anything about the local school system about which you are particularly proud?

- 2.3 What are some of the good characteristics of students in this school district?

- 2.4 What are some of the bad characteristics of students in this school district?

- 2.5 What are some of the good characteristics of the educational program in this school district?

- 2.6 What are some of the bad characteristics of the educational program in this school district?

- 3.1 What seems to be the relationship between the local school district administration and the teaching staff?

Ascertain

morale
loyalty of staff
(more)

3.1 (continued)

consideration of administration for staff
teacher participation in elections
staff organizations (e.g., unions)
salary
staff organizational structure
tenure -- hiring and firing policies

3.2 What seems to be the relationship between the local school district administration and the non-teaching staff?

Ascertain

morale
loyalty of staff
consideration of administration for staff
staff participation in elections
staff organizations (e.g., unions)
salary
staff organizational structure
tenure -- hiring and firing policies

4.1 What is the quality of the business procedures in this school district?

Ascertain

supplies and equipment purchasing
building and grounds
records; budgetary methods

4.2 Are there any particular requirements which make school-community relations difficult?

4.3 What kinds of state and/or federal aid does this district receive?

4.4 How is the local school district organized?

Ascertain

grade levels (unified, elementary, secondary, etc.)
appointed or elective board, superintendent, etc.
dual vs. unitary administration

- 5.1 What are the relations between the local school district administrators and education officials outside the district?

Ascertain

municipal (if district within large city)
county level
state level
national or international (UNESCO) level

- 5.2 What are the relations between the local school district administrators and the district school board?

Ascertain

social level
educational policy level

- 6.1 What part does the local school board play in the relations between the school district and the public?

Ascertain

board composition (including factions)
board policy
effects of its actions

- 7.1 What are the economic resources of this district?

Ascertain

level of wealth
distribution of wealth
source of income (multiple vs. single)
stability of income
dependence on U. S. government projects or installations
existing business conditions

- 7.2 What kinds of people do you have in this district?

Ascertain

stable/transient
occupational groups
(more)

7.2 (continued)

commuters/local work
age groups
racial groups
level of education

7.3 What kind of a community (ies) do you have in this school district?

Ascertain

growing, progressive/conservative, falling behind
identification of community with school district or local schools
political factionalism
geographical homogeneity/heterogeneity

7.4 What does the public seem to want from schools in this school district?

Ascertain

wants of curricular nature and extent of fulfillment
wants of non-curricular nature and fulfillment

7.5 Who wields influence or power in this district?

7.6 Who seems to be the chronic opposition to schools in this district?

Ascertain

leadership (if any)
composition
techniques of opposition ("how")

8.1 What attitudes or values that people hold seem to make a difference in the way they feel about the schools?

Ascertain

on taxes
on economic outlook
on the educational program
on the extracurricular program
pride in schools
pride in community
(more)

8.1 (continued)

awareness of school needs
understanding of school problems

8.2 What kind of interest do people seem to take in the schools?

Ascertain

participation in school functions and activities
attendance at school programs
turnout at school elections
participation in advisory or study groups
knowledge of school functions and policies

9.1 What groups or organizations in this district generally support the schools?

Ascertain

origin of group
composition of group
stability/transiency
activities on behalf of school...
 ...in elections
 ...otherwise
effectiveness of group

10.1 What mass media, such as newspapers, radio, or television, serve this district?

Ascertain

attitude toward school district
quality of mass medium
coverage policies of mass medium (type, extent, accuracy)
 relative to schools
cooperation with school district
community service functions of mass medium
mass medium's role in school-community relations
what mass medium thinks its role should be

- 11.1 In school district elections, what seem to be the major factors in the election campaigns?

Ascertain

voter eligibility
timing of election
preparation of campaign and tactics
clarity of needs
clarity of proposed uses
pressures on voters to support schools
character of the opposition
voter turnout
lack of unanimity among school district officials
criticisms of operating costs
lack of clarity on duration of tax levy
amount of money asked for
result of elections

- 12.1 In what ways are the schools of service to the communities in which they are located?

Ascertain

type of service (e.g., leadership)
effect of service on school-community relations

- 12.2 In what ways are the communities of service to the schools located here?

Ascertain

type of service
effect of service

- 12.3 In what ways do the schools and the community (ies) seem to get together with good effect?

- 12.4 In what ways do the schools and the community (ies) seem to clash?

- 12.5 Have there been any particular incidents which have affected the school-community relationship?

13.1 How has the local school system tried to inform the public?

Ascertain

what was the content
who was the source of the message
was message personal, public, or through media
any particular target for message
result of message

15.1 In what ways have community organizations or individuals tried to inform the public about the schools?

Ascertain

what was the content
who was the source of the message
was message personal, public, or through media
any particular target for message
result of message

15.2 In what ways have community organizations or individuals tried to inform the schools about the community?

Ascertain

what was the content
who was the source of the message
was message personal, public, or through media
any particular target for message
result of message

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
Stanford, California

School of Education

Institute for Communication Research

... Research Project on Support for Public Education
Dr. William R. Odell, Director

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the U.S. Office of Education, we are asking several people in your community who are informed about local school-community relations to respond to this Inventory. You are one of 2500 persons throughout the United States who are being asked to help us with an important problem.

Stanford University has undertaken, in contract with the U.S. Office of Education, to explore the support of public education in the United States. We are trying to find ways which now—or might in the future—help to improve voter understanding and support for public schools.

You have been identified as a person who is in a *position* to know about relations between schools and community. You have been selected because you have a significant role in your community.

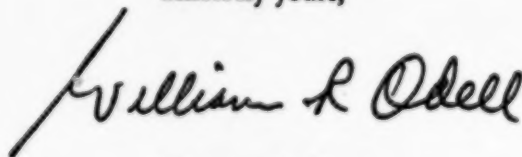
None of us question the existence of an underlying value for the worth of public education. But, in the first results of our national survey of school-community relations, we see a number of factors which appear to be making a difference in how the schools and communities get along together. The following Inventory lists aspects of schools and communities which have made a difference in some—but not necessarily all—of the communities we have visited. *We would like you to indicate those characteristics which are operative in your community.*

The answers we receive will furnish a complete picture of present school-community relations in our nation. It is our intention to show the overall situation, and we will not embarrass in any way individuals or their communities. The information you give us will never be quoted above your name.

We are confident that our nation's schools will profit from such a comprehensive view of school-community relations. Your careful attention to this Inventory is appreciated.

This Inventory is prepared so that it may easily be returned to us. Merely fold the back cover over this front cover and seal. The postage is paid.

Sincerely yours,



WILLIAM R. ODELL
Project Director

Community

And

Schools

Together

... A Project of the U.S. Office of Education Cooperative Research Program

RESPONDENT:.....

THE STANFORD INVENTORY:

SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

We would like to have your estimate of the importance of factors which might be helping or hurting the relationship that exists between your local schools and your community.

We have here factors which have been found important in some communities across the country. But in considering these factors, *please apply them only to your own schools and your own community.*

First, for each of these, determine whether this factor either helps, hurts, or has no effect in how your schools and your community get along. If as far as you know, this factor has no effect upon the local situation, check the box under "Has No Effect" and go on to the next factor.

For each of the factors which either helps or hurts the local school-community relationship, we would like to ask you how important is this factor in determining the local school-community relationship? Is it of some importance or great importance?

The examples below show how you should proceed . . .

IN YOUR COMMUNITY, DOES THIS FACTOR:	HELP local school-community relations . . .		HURT local school-community relations . . .		HAS NO EFFECT
	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	
a. Student behavior			x		
b. Teaching methods					x
c. Student athletics		x			

IN YOUR COMMUNITY, DOES THIS FACTOR:	HELP local school-community relations . . .		HURT local school-community relations . . .		HAS NO EFFECT
	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	
1. The school administrators as school leaders—e.g., administrators' delegation of authority.					
2. The school administrators' professional qualifications for the job.					
3. The school administrators' personal characteristics.					
4. The school administrators' values, beliefs, and goals.					
5. The administrators' educational philosophy.					
6. The administrators' reaction to outside pressures.					
7. The administrators' reaction to proposed changes.					
8. Relations between administrators and parents.					
9. School administrators as community leaders.					
10. Student behavior.					
11. Relations between administrators and students.					
12. Relations between teachers and students.					
13. Student pride in school.					
14. Educational program—curriculum.					
15. School summer programs.					
16. Programs for gifted children.					
17. Programs for retarded children.					
18. Teaching methods.					
19. Special services—e.g., guidance, health, transportation, etc.					
20. Policies for grading and promoting students.					
21. Student athletics.					

IN YOUR COMMUNITY, DOES THIS FACTOR:	HELP local school-community relations . . .		HURT local school-community relations . . .		HAS NO EFFECT
	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	
22. Student programs—band, plays, debates, etc.					
23. Student newspapers.					
24. Private and parochial schools.					
25. Parent-teacher conferences.					
26. Student achievement and recognition.					
27. Success of students upon leaving school.					
28. Schools' use of community resources—e.g., scientists, special personnel.					
29. Students quitting school before graduation.					
30. Quality of teaching staff.					
31. Quality of non-teaching staff.					
32. Staff morale.					
33. Loyalty of staff to administration.					
34. Relations between administrators and teachers.					
35. Teacher participation in school district elections.					
36. Teacher participation in community affairs.					
37. Teacher participation in school policy.					
38. Teachers running for political office.					
39. Staff organizations—e.g., unions.					
40. Salary policies for staff.					
41. Tenure practices—hiring and firing of staff.					
42. Internal organization of district staff.					

IN YOUR COMMUNITY, DOES THIS FACTOR:	HELP local school-community relations . . .		HURT local school-community relations . . .		HAS NO EFFECT
	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	With Great Importance	With Great Importance	
43. Quality of central office staff.					
44. How staff is supervised.					
45. Relations between administrators and non-teaching staff.					
46. Relations between teachers and parents.					
47. Promotional policies for staff.					
48. How staff is assigned.					
49. Turnover of staff.					
50. Business procedures of the administration.					
51. State legal requirements affecting the school—e.g., accreditation, code provisions, etc.					
52. Municipal legal requirements affecting the schools.					
53. Federal aid to the schools.					
54. State aid to the schools.					
55. Administration's relations with other educational officials.					
56. Long-range planning.					
57. Procedures for adopting the school budget.					
58. Type of school district.					
59. Consolidation or unification of schools.					
60. Property assessment procedures.					
61. Size of district.					
62. Administrators' relations with local school board.					
63. Relations within school board.					

IN YOUR COMMUNITY, DOES THIS FACTOR:	HELP local school-community relations . . .		HURT local school-community relations . . .		HAS NO EFFECT
	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	
64. School board policies.					
65. How the school board is selected.					
66. Composition of the school board.					
67. Public attendance at school board meetings.					
68. School board's relations with the public.					
69. School board members' qualifications for the job.					
70. The school board's educational philosophy.					
71. The school board's reaction to proposed changes.					
72. School board procedures.					
73. Level of community wealth—economic base.					
74. Distribution of community wealth.					
75. Sources of community wealth.					
76. Stability of community wealth.					
77. Stability of population.					
78. Occupations of population.					
79. Community's holding power on youth.					
80. Age distribution of population.					
81. Racial composition of population.					
82. Community growth—expansion					
83. Educational level of population.					
84. Relations between communities within school district.					

IN YOUR COMMUNITY, DOES THIS FACTOR:	HELP local school-community relations . . .		HURT local school-community relations . . .		HAS NO EFFECT
	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	
85. Youth organizations and clubs.					
86. Community welfare and social activities for youth.					
87. Degree of urbanization.					
88. Community's geographic characteristics.					
89. Where located in the United States.					
90. Dependence upon government contracts or installations.					
91. Commuting to other communities.					
92. Political pressures in community.					
93. Large taxpayers					
94. Industrial or business leaders.					
95. Chamber of Commerce.					
96. Civic or service clubs.					
97. Religious groups.					
98. City officials.					
99. Labor unions.					
100. Farmers.					
101. Organized chronic critics of schools.					
102. Unorganized chronic critics of schools.					
103. National criticism about education.					
104. Outside advice.					
105. Voter turnout at school elections.					

IN OUR COMMUNITY. FROM YOUR FACTOR.	HELP local school-community relations . . .		HURT local school-community relations . . .		HIGHER OR LOWER EFFECT
	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	
106. Attitude of voters toward taxes.					
107. Attitude of voters toward business outlooks.					
108. Voters' pride in schools.					
109. Voters' pride in community.					
110. Voters' understanding of school's needs.					
111. Voters' participation in school activities.					
112. Conservative nature of voters.					
113. Citizens committee for schools.					
114. Parent-Teacher Associations and parents' clubs.					
115. Advisory boards or committees for schools.					
116. Study groups or workshops on school problems.					
117. Mass media (newspaper, radio, TV) attitude toward schools.					
118. Mass media coverage of school activities.					
119. Cooperation between mass media and schools.					
120. Mass media and their executives as community leaders.					
121. Mass media and their executives as mediators between groups in schools and communities.					
122. Mass media and their executives concerned with themselves only.					
123. Mass media and their executives as "watchdogs" of public servants and public money.					
124. Competition among the mass media.					
125. Timing of school election (bond or tax).					
126. Clarity with which needs are presented in elections.					

IN YOUR COMMUNITY, DOES THIS FACTOR:	HELP local school-community relations . . .		HURT local school-community relations . . .		HAS NO EFFECT
	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	
127. Campaign emphasis on enrollment pressure.					
128. Quality of schools' campaign preparation.					
129. Social pressures on voters to support schools.					
130. Lack of agreement among school representatives in election campaign.					
131. Quality of opposition techniques.					
132. Definiteness of tax levy extension.					
133. Duration of tax levy extension.					
134. Adult education program.					
135. Schools' participation in community celebration.					
136. Availability of school facilities for community use.					
137. Services for community by school personnel.					
138. Joint school-community programs—e.g., Business-Education Day.					
139. Schools' relation with industry.					
140. Investigations of school by municipal or county bodies—e.g., grand jury investigations.					
141. Services for schools by community agencies.					
142. Schools' relations with civic institutions—e.g., libraries, playground programs.					
143. Schools' information program.					
144. Schools' use of the mass media.					
145. Schools' use of informal or face-to-face contact.					
146. Schools' use of public meetings.					
147. Schools' use of regular bulletin.					

IN YOUR COMMUNITY, DOES THIS FACTOR:	HELP local school-community relations . . .		HURT local school-community relations . . .		HAS NO EFFECT
	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	With Some Importance	With Great Importance	
148. Schools' use of "open houses" to inform the public.					
149. Schools' employment of public relations specialists.					
150. Schools' use of letters, postcards, and telephones in election campaigns.					
151. Schools' use of personal contact during campaigns.					
152. Speeches by administrators during campaign.					
153. Public meetings sponsored by PTA.					
154. Bulletins published by PTA.					
155. Campaigning for schools by PTA members.					
156. Public meetings sponsored by citizens committee.					
157. Bulletins or letters published by citizens committee.					
158. Campaigning for schools by citizens committee.					
159. Public meetings sponsored by opposition to schools.					
160. Bulletins or letters published by opposition.					
161. Use of mass media by opposition to schools.					
162. Communications from community to school.					

Thank you for your assistance. Please fold the back cover over the front cover, seal it, and post to us.